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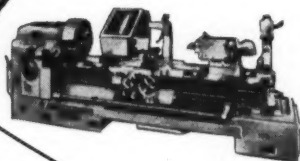
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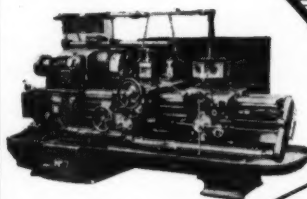
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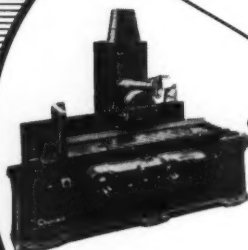
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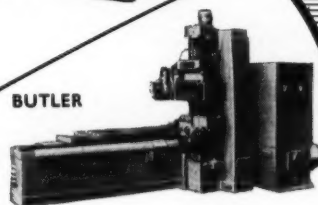
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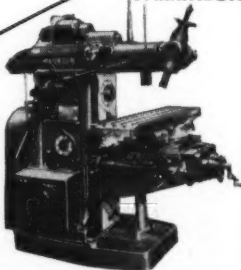
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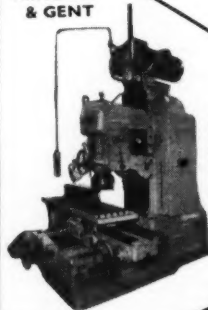
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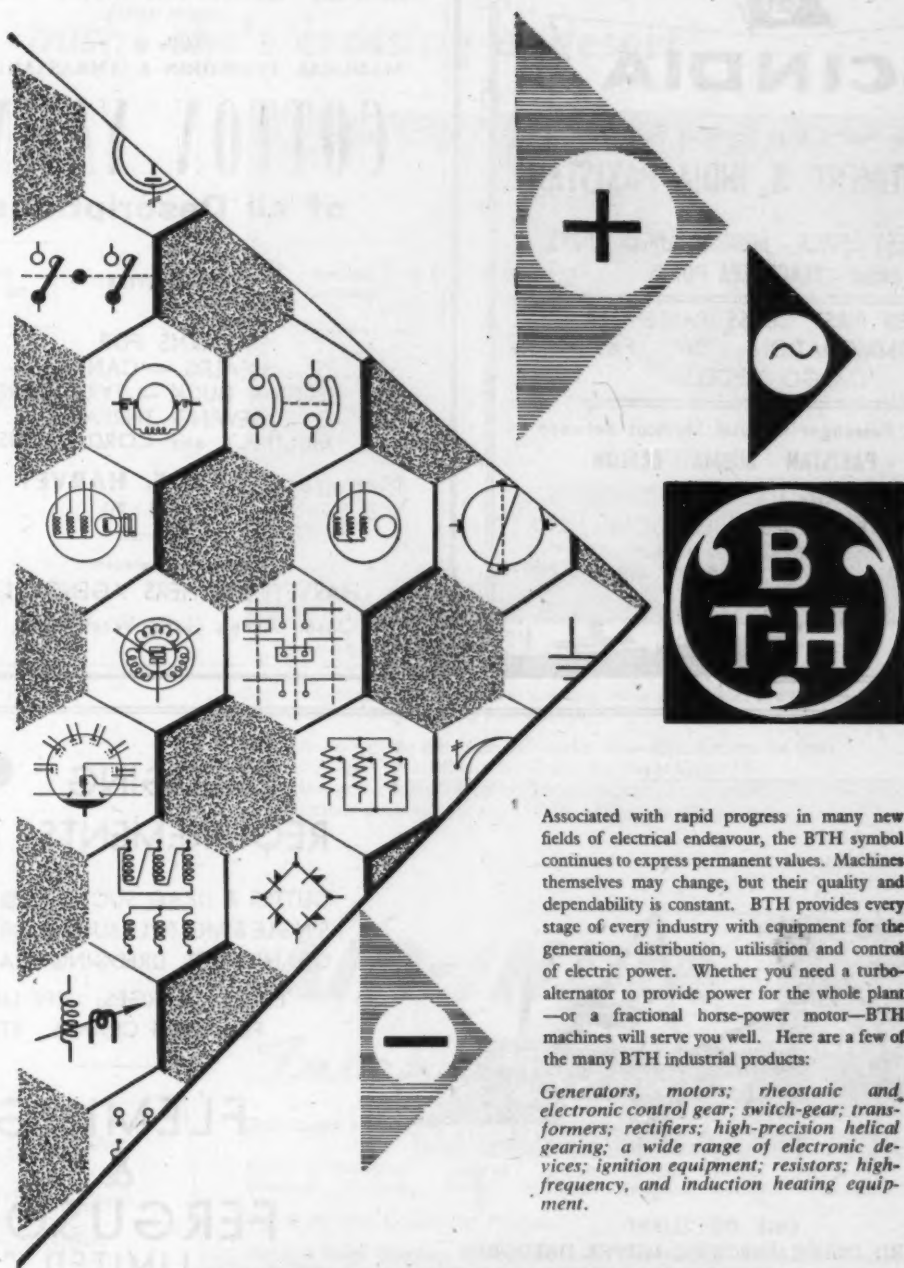
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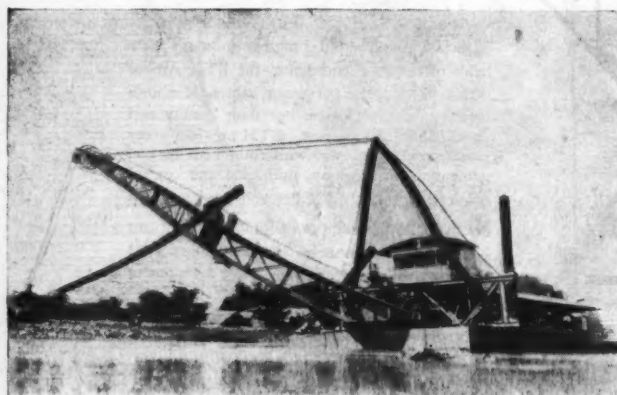
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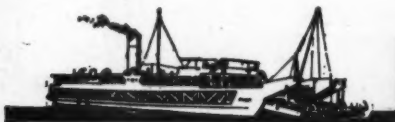
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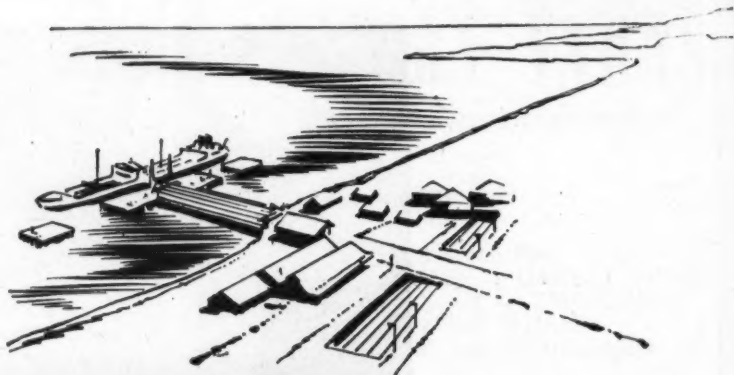
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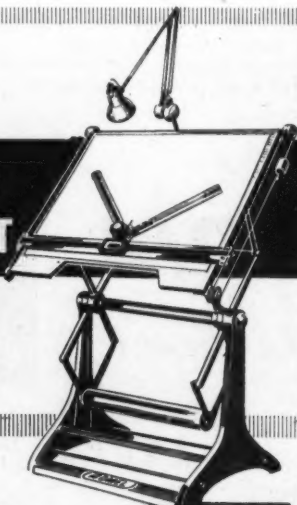
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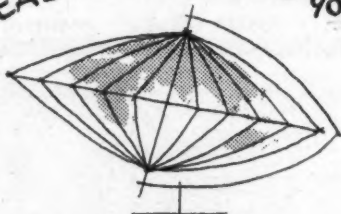


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CONTENTS

EDITORIALS

Outwards from Peking	9
Saké and Self-Criticism	10

COMMENT

11

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

13

Japan and America: Recession Review	Hugh Smythe	14
Congress and the Opposition Parties	Raji Narasimhan	17
Indians in Ceylon	C. K. Balasundaram	18
Pakistan's Relations with the West	G. W. Choudhury	20

ASIAN SURVEY

Ceylon after the Storm	J. A. Perera	22
India: Economic Crisis	Delhi Correspondent	23
Malaya: Call-Up	Kuala Lumpur Correspondent	24
Singapore: Constitutional Progress	Singapore Correspondent	25
Australia: Asia Policy	Charles Meeking	25
USA: Relations with China	David C. Williams	26

RECENT BOOKS

28

The Eastern Student in Britain	Susan Lester	31
--------------------------------	--------------	----

ECONOMICS AND TRADE

India's Steel Projects	...	33
China's 500 Million Peasants		35
West Germany's Trade with Asia		36
Japan-Korea Trade Relations	T. F. M. Adams	38

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL NOTES

41

The Editor does not hold himself responsible for opinions expressed in signed articles.

Front cover picture: The Harbour of Hong Kong. In the background the hills of Kowloon which form the frontier with the Chinese People's Republic.

(Photo by H. C. Taussig)

EASTERN WORLD

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July

1958

Outwards from Peking

CHINA'S increasing weight in the world is making itself felt. Having scored prodigious successes in industry and agriculture, China now emerges also as an authoritative spokesman for Communist principles and policies. Its leading position beside the Soviet Union within the Socialist bloc is due not only to its size and vast population, but precisely to these successes in field and factory, and the rapid transformation of its backward society. It has become a tower of strength and encouragement to the other Communist countries, while showing a stern face to the rest.

China has effected a surprisingly quick realisation of its potentialities of enormous manpower, vast area, and rich natural resources. Only little over two years ago, in January 1956 at the First Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, a programme was adopted for agricultural development during 1956-57. Mao Tse-tung then exhorted the Congress "to exert utmost efforts, press ahead consistently and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results." In May this year the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress, in the exuberance of success, adopted the phrase "greater, faster, better and more economical results" as a new campaign slogan for national policy.

China, the Congress resolved, is to surpass Britain in major industrial output, not in the fifteen or more years previously estimated, but in the next few years. The country will also in a short time fulfil the agricultural developments programme originally planned to take twelve years. These decisions exemplify the Chinese daring and faith in themselves which it is high time the rest of the world recognised. Nineteen fifty-eight is designated "the year of the big leap." Mr. Liu Shao-shi reported to the Congress that the number of "above-norm" industrial projects in hand for this year alone is more than the combined total of similar projects undertaken during the whole of the First Five-Year Plan. From last October to April this year, new irrigation works in agriculture have meant an increase of 350 million *mou* of irrigated land (one *mou* = 0.164 acres), which is 110 million

mou more than the total brought under irrigation in previous ten centuries. This kind of technical progress has been matched, Mr. Liu claimed, by social achievements in which radical changes took place in human relations "with the development of criticism and self-criticism." Much was said at the Congress of the "rectification campaign and the anti-rightist struggle" in improving relations in Socialist labour and in the transformation of the means of production. Educational campaigns of this kind will be launched at set intervals in order to eradicate all capitalist and feudal survivals and build a completely new Socialist way of life.

Western attention to the Congress has largely ignored these developments and devoted itself almost exclusively to the criticisms of Yugoslavia and the resolution against "revisionism" in Marxist principles. Mr. Tan Chen-lin's report on the Moscow meeting of Communist Parties in November, 1957, whether it represented a reproduction of the Moscow arguments or an independent formulation by the Chinese Communist Party, certainly constituted a broadside against Tito:

This out-and-out revisionist programme (of the Yugoslav Communists) is put forward for the purpose of splitting the international Communist movement. It is pronounced at the very time when the general crisis of capitalism is deepening and when the revisionist harangues of the right-wing Socialists are daily losing their paralysing effect on the working class and labouring masses. That is why the service rendered by this programme to imperialism, especially US imperialism, is tantamount to "sending it a present of firewood in cool weather."

China is believed to have insisted on a return within the Communist camp to the ways of strict discipline and international solidarity. Mao himself said in Moscow last November:

In the Socialist camp there must be a head, and that head is the Soviet Union. Among the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries there must be a

head, and that head is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In reverting to their former "hard" policies, the Communist countries, from China to Albania, must have come to the conclusion that the "soft" policies were not paying off. Many weeds flourished in China's political garden of flowers, and much deviation from "Socialist realism" in the arts. There has been trouble and misunderstanding among the Communist states and parties, and in return for this price of the relaxed atmosphere, they found no compensatory gains. The West still holds to its positions-of-strength policy, with no agreement in sight on nuclear weapons and disarmament, nor on any appreciable lowering of the barriers to trade and cultural relations.

Moscow and Peking have now decided to stiffen their position. Unfortunately the neutralist, uncommitted countries will suffer in the process. The attitude of China as one of the Bandung powers, and a new source of encouragement to Afro-Asian nationalism, is of crucial importance in South-East Asia and the Middle East. Is there now to be a greater differentiation between the Socialist and the non-Socialist societies, at the expense of Communist sympathies for the nationalism of the new countries?

China's phenomenal successes in construction cannot fail to encourage other countries to launch into rapid economic development themselves, but Chinese unyielding orthodox Marxism may keep them at a distance. Since the emergence of the "new" China, there has been a general belief everywhere that China's Communism was not quite the same as

the Russian type. It was even hoped that China might influence Russia to a greater liberalisation of Communist practices. Mr. Chou En-lai's conduct of diplomacy in Bandung and afterwards lent weight to these hopes. Russian leaders themselves said that the accession of China to the Communist bloc had so radically increased the latter's strength that capitalist encirclement is no more. The cordial Russo-Chinese approaches with offers of economic assistance to India, Burma, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Ceylon, Egypt, Syria, Yemen and many other countries substantiated the policy of cooperation with the uncommitted countries.

The new tightening of control within and among the Communist countries may well place the non-Communist Asian countries at a disadvantage in trying to maintain contact and friendly intercourse. Already there are reports that individuals and cultural delegations from the Asian and African countries are meeting with less tolerance and open-mindedness in the Communist capitals than they experienced up to a year or so ago. It would be short-sighted of the West to exult too much over such a development.

Asian countries expect no falling-off in economic cooperation or diplomatic support from the Communist countries, in spite of the reports that China objects to Russian resources being diverted to neutralist countries while the needs of China and other Communist countries remain unsatisfied. What they do apprehend is that the Communist countries may tend to isolate themselves from the West and the uncommitted nations alike, thus bringing about a deplorable halt in the slow but sure improvement over the past two years in international relations.

SAKÉ AND SELF-CRITICISM

THERE were heavy sighs of relief in America and the western world generally at the outcome of the recent Japanese elections. The victory of the Liberal Democratic Party, although not unexpected, has particularly pleased the West because it has shown that the first election in the country under the two-party system has gone decisively against the Socialists, who are considered to be slightly anti-western.

But, like an iceberg, what appears on the surface is only part of the total picture. In the first place the apparently solid front that the Liberal Democrats present is a wall with many cracks and flaws, stemming from the tensions and out-and-out rivalries between the many factions into which the conservatives are split. There has been a mad scramble between party factions for positions in the Cabinet and the inner sanctums of the party. While to the public gaze the struggle seemed to be submerged by the Liberal Democratic victory, the conflict was barely begun between the various splinter groups: the Kishi, Ohno, Ikeda, Miki-Matsumura, Kono, Ishii, and Ishibashi factions into which the conservatives are divided.

The question now, after the elections, is whether harmony can be brought from such conflict, and if so for how long, and to what degree. What worried the Liberal Democrats was not the outcome of the polls, not even how

many seats would be won, but in what strength of numbers members of the different factions would be returned.

The Socialists, although they actually gained a handful of seats, received an admitted setback. Mr. Kishi, the Prime Minister, called them "the political department of the Sohyo" (the General Council of Japan Trade Unions), and this label seems to have stuck, but at the same time, as our Tokyo correspondent, Stuart Griffin, points out, voters showed that they could not care less that Mr. Kishi was at one time branded as a war criminal suspect and jail inmate, and the Socialist charge that the Liberal Democrats intended to set up a "Tory dictatorship" seems to have had little effect. The really important factor to emerge from the voting along two-party lines is that the slight increase in Socialist seats has prevented the conservatives from realising the majority needed to revise the Constitution so that Japan can have legally constituted armed forces.

If factionalism is now the gravest threat to Liberal Democratic solidarity, then the Socialists follow closely behind with a strikingly similar problem, magnified, of course, by defeat. In the Socialist ranks there are groups under Suzuki, Kawakami, Wada, Matsumoto, Nishio, Kuroda, and Nomizo, and just as the Kishi majority has its opponents in what is termed the "anti-main stream" groups of Ishibashi, Miki-Matsumura, and Ikeda, so the Suzuki

leadership is threatened by the extreme left wing under Hiroo Wada and Hisao Kuroda, and the extreme right under Jotaro Kawakami and Suehiro Nishio. As the dust of the election settles it would appear that the left wing influence is more to the forefront in the Socialist camp, while in the conservative ranks, the groups more to the right of centre (rather than centre or left of centre) appear in the seats of power. The political struggle therefore seems to be taking shape between the left and the right, even more than in the days before the election—with the Socialist left a shadow of its former self compared with the vigorous conservative right.

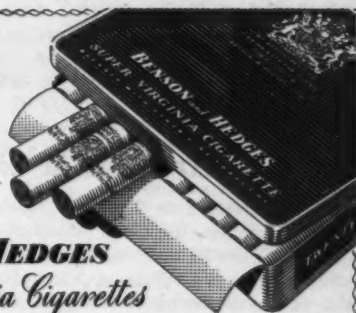
The Liberal Democrat victory cannot be attributed to any clear cut factor, but many people in Japan will say it is because of its "realistic foreign policy." The Socialists always complained that Mr. Kishi was tied too closely to Washington, but the voters seem to have listened more closely to the Prime Minister's suggestion that Moscow and Peking played too loud a tune in the Socialist camp. But while the majority of voters refused to vote for a party with sympathies towards the left, there is certainly no indication that they sought to elect a Kishi who would turn the clock back to the Tojo military dictatorship era. Japan, it seems, is headed for a "third road" in both national life and in international affairs.

Although the Communist strength in the Diet was reduced from two seats to one, they can, for their own satisfaction only, take slight consolation from the fact that

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their percentage was 2.6 with 1,012,036 votes as against two percent and 733,121 votes in 1955. But they can hardly construe this as any sort of victory.

Now that the Liberal Democrats have put the empty saké bottles aside and ended their victory celebrations, and the Socialists have finished wiping the tears of self-criticism from their eyes, the world waits to see on what sort of tightrope Japan is next going to balance.

Comment

Indonesia Looks For Help

SHARP reaction in the West to the situation in Indonesia has petered out in recent weeks. This may be due to preoccupations in Europe and the Middle East, but it may also be partly because throughout the protracted rebellion, the Djakarta Government has acted with calmness and propriety. It has steadfastly refused to internationalise the conflict, despite provocation from outside sources which have supplied the rebels with material to prosecute their illicit aims.

Western commentators have been claiming since last December that Indonesia was Communist dominated and that the proof of it would be Djakarta's calling upon Communist sources to help fight the rebellion. They have been confounded, for throughout Indonesia has challenged the rebels without outside help except for deliveries of equipment from both western and Communist countries already agreed upon before the uprising began.

But now the military aspect of the uprising is just about finished, Indonesia is faced with an economic task of such huge proportions that without help from outside there is no solution except continuing chaos. Where is the help to come from? Indonesians would prefer it chiefly from the United Kingdom, but as the need is so great and so urgent they will find it difficult to resist pressures from other sources, particularly Japan. Djakarta has made every effort to convince Britain of its good will and to show that the upheaval against Dutch business last year was purely a

matter of nationalist sentiment, which in no way indicated a precedent in the treatment of foreign business in Indonesia.

The Indonesian desire for help is not foreseen as a one-sided arrangement. British business is presented with the attractive opportunity of commercially replacing the Dutch. In exchange for essential goods and services, like inter-island shipping and an efficiently organised and run distributive agency (which Indonesians will admit they are insufficiently trained to manage themselves), United Kingdom firms can develop and profit from the vast natural resources of Indonesia. If the country is to get on a stable footing, and the outer islands satisfied that they are fairly sharing in the economic wealth of the Republic, the country must be "opened up," and its potential exploited. Indonesians themselves have not the means for doing it. Is it such an unattractive prospect for British business?

Caution in British minds has sprung from the unsettled state of the country, but a clear understanding of the salient points of recent Indonesian history should help create confidence. Without economic help the unsettled state will continue, and as long as it continues British businessmen will remain cautious. There is everything to gain from breaking this vicious circle. Aid is the key — not just monetary aid, but know-how, equipment, and technique. Is it not particularly beneficial if this can come from those in whom Indonesians have confidence? If would be tragic if Britain cast this opportunity aside because it misunderstood political and nationalistic feeling in the country. It is the avowed aim of Indonesian political parties (except the Communist) to create a working parliamentary democracy.

Whether they finally succeed depends on economic help from outside. To whose advantage would it be if they failed? Surely not to those who could now, on a basis of commercial partnership, step in with the vitally necessary aid.

Next Steps in Singapore

ON his return to Singapore from the constitutional talks in London, the Chief Minister of the Colony, Mr. Lim Yew Hock, outlined the three stages of development envisaged in the future of Singapore. The first step, which the new constitution is designed to cover is internal self-government. The parties in Singapore hope this will lead to a merger with Malaya, and finally to complete independence. The last phase is a long way off. Singapore has yet to go through the teething troubles of self-government. The determined rejection of all things connected with the colonial era shown recently by the mayor and members of the new City Council is likely to manifest itself no less strongly in the first all-Singapore Government but, it is to be hoped, with a little less irresponsibility.

The constitution agreed in London closely follows the pattern of the accord reached last year, with the Colonial Office insistence on the barring of persons detained for subversive activities from taking part in the first Legislative Assembly retained as a clause in the constitution. All the main parties in the colony are opposed to this clause, but since their return to Singapore members of the all-party delegation to London have expressed a difference of emphasis. Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, head of the People's Action Party, made it clear that he is prepared to find a way of circumventing the clause, even to dissolving the new Assembly just after its election. Mr. Lim, who leads the Labour Front, on the other hand, has said that it would not be in the interest of the island to release those detained by the Singapore authorities for subversion; and that no move should be made in this direction just to spite the Colonial Office. Both Mr. Lim and Mr. Lee have been at pains to show that they have their own very definite ideas on how Singapore should be governed. Lim Yew Hock is aware of the growing strength of the PAP, and there are signs that he is attempting to strengthen the internal organisation of the Labour Front to meet the electoral challenge which Lee Kuan Yew will certainly present with the utmost vigour.

Mr. Lee will get his support from those who want to see the last vestiges of Britain's rule disappear from Singapore. Harry Lee has already made harsh references to Britain's retention of certain areas for purposes of a base, and he has talked with some annoyance about Britain's right to appoint certain officials when self-government is given. It is not in the interest of the PAP to work up too much feeling before the handing over of self-government, for an unsettled state in Singapore will harden feelings in London, and make the Malay Government cautious about integration later on. But Mr. Lim cannot afford to let the initiative rest completely in Harry Lee's hands if he wants the Labour Front to do well in the elections. Over the next few months there will be an evident polarisation of political life in Singapore. With the constitution agreed political manoeuvring is the next logical step. Providing there are no outbreaks of violence it will be a healthy sign of the growth into independence.

Awakening in Pakistan

IN an article on another page Mr. G. W. Choudhury of Dacca University has stated clearly and unequivocally the sole reason why Pakistan allies herself with the western powers in foreign policy. It is not from any fear of Communist aggression, nor is it because she has the American inspired anti-Communist crusade deeply at heart. It is purely because she wants sympathetic moral and material support from the West in her dispute with India over Kashmir and other problems.

When the Prime Minister, Firoz Khan Noon, expressed his disappointment at the West's lack of sympathy and apparent indifference to Pakistan's problems, he was bringing into the open what many Pakistanis feel — giving public expression to a national sense of impotence and inferiority complex about their place in the comity of nations. Pakistan's attachment to the West is guided by self interest; but so, of course, is the West's to Pakistan. It should have been clear to anyone that in the last analysis western policy in Asia, confronted by the massive appeal of the Chinese revolution to the peasant mind, was to seek and to foster flourishing democratic institutions wherever they could be found.

In the first few years of the decade after Partition in 1947 these democratic institutions could only be found in India, and even though now something similar is beginning to emerge in other countries of South-East Asia, Pakistan is still far from being a working democracy. It is uncharitable for Pakistanis to castigate the West for what, in effect, are the results of her own internal political disorder. It is simply not enough to say that because Pakistan believes in the "free world" while India does not, the West should openly side with Karachi in disputes with India.

Mr. Noon's outburst, and Mr. Choudhury's article, are symptomatic of a new awakening to realities in Pakistan, and after the first countrywide general elections scheduled for next November, the old concepts of Pakistan's attitude to international relations may change. The Awami League, the only real political party in the country has a fair chance of emerging victorious if it can find a working electoral arrangement with the split-away group, the National Awami Party. (The two parties have already entered into alliance in the East Pakistan Assembly). The difference between the two Awami parties is primarily on foreign policy, with the National Awami Party against western inspired pacts, and the Awami League for western friendship. But the younger elements in the League mainly see friendship with western countries as a means of solving the economic troubles of Pakistan.

Enlightened politicians, while not giving one inch of ground over the Kashmir issue, have come to see that the present bad relations with India are a purely negative feature of policy, and their first task in creating a new climate is to break the hold the feudalistic and privileged elements have upon the economy of Pakistan. The effect this could have on the country is great, for if Pakistanis wish for the sympathy and understanding of the West or anyone else, they must first create a widely supported democratic structure. Pakistan must awaken to the obvious fact that outside forces cannot solve her internal conflict and political disorder.

Letters to the Editor

VINOBA BHAVE

Sir,—Having helped in *bhoodan* for more than a year, I was most interested to come across C. R. M. Rao's article "The Great Indian Illusion," in your May issue, which promised to be a constructive criticism of a remarkable movement, but which turned out to be the most negative and misleading account of the Land Gift Mission I have yet seen.

From my own experiences, often frustrating, of distribution work in Bihar, I became well aware of the problems and drawbacks of trying to solve the land problem on an individual basis, and therefore welcomed a development that had been implicit in the movement from its inception—the growth of *bhoodan*, individual land gifts, to *gramdan*, the gift of whole villages and the pooling of individual land holdings. (The other forms of *dan*, gifts of wealth, professional services, labour, and of life-service, are complementary). *Gramdan* of course largely solves the problems with which we are faced in Bihar, such as the long job of measuring and assessing individual land gifts, selection of the recipients from among the landless, mortgaged and disputed land, and the villagers' reliance on Government and outside workers.

It would be surprising if there were not disappointment amongst *bhoodan* workers that targets have not been achieved. Vinoba Bhave however has remained quite unconcerned. Various targets (a sixth of a family's land, fifty million acres, etc.) were set for the sake of us ordinary folk who need something concrete to work towards, but Vinoba compares himself to a fire whose *dharma* is to burn, whether it be used to boil a kettle or evaporate an ocean. Mr. Rao states that the financial assistance of the Gandhi Memorial Trust was renounced "in a huff." In fact this step was taken only after deep thought about the danger of the movement becoming institutionalised, and losing its

revolutionary significance for the ordinary villager.

It is further asserted that *gramdan* is anti-democratic. I am convinced that far from being anti-democratic, the development of *gramdan* is the greatest hope for real democracy in the world today, and a step towards the realisation of Gandhi's ideal of village republics. Many political thinkers have pointed out the danger to democracy of centralisation of power. The basic idea of *gramdan* is that the village should administer its own affairs through the village council, with every family represented, and it is for this body to decide the particular type of farming to adopt, whether individual, cooperative, or collective (and whether or not to have a model cooperative farming unit). *Talukdan* and *districtdan* would be a coordinated federation of such village units. Vinoba and the *Sarva Seva Sangh* are quite clear about this, and it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Mr. Rao is either misinformed or is deliberately misrepresenting the facts.

Yours, etc.,

Cheltenham.

DAVID HOGGETT

NO LOVE FOR SEATO

Sir,—After a recent tour of Asian countries, the Australian Minister Casey said that he never heard anyone criticise the SEATO Pact any more. And he said that this was maybe because those Asians who used to criticise it now realised that certain dangers existed from possible aggression. Mr. Casey thought also that no one considered SEATO a danger to peace as they did at first, and it had come to be accepted as useful.

A little while ago your magazine said that Asians did not worry about SEATO and you were right in pointing to the real reason, that is that no one thinks SEATO matters any more because when you think about it, there is nothing it can achieve. Only three real Asian countries are members of it, and they are the ones under

strict American influence. The Pact is only a western move to protect its own interests, and Asians are not going to help in that after struggling for a long time to get rid of western influence.

SEATO is ineffective in protecting against something that does not exist. So that's all right with Minister Casey and me.

Yours etc.,

Rangoon, Burma.

P. M. SOE MYINT

MALAYAN WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Sir,—Many of us women in Malaya remember the important article by Han Suyin "The Woman of Malaya and her Independence after Merdeka" which appeared in your August 1957 issue. It may interest your readers that it has taken Malaya nearly a year to recognise a situation which was stated so clearly by that famous authoress in your esteemed magazine.

At the UMNO Assembly in Kuala Lumpur last month, the *Kaum Ibu* (the women's section of the United Malay National Organisation) won a resounding victory for the rights of Muslim women, when they asked for a revision of the marriage and divorce laws.

We Malayan women are grateful to Han Suyin for writing her article, and to you for giving it such wide distribution. It has vastly contributed to our determination to fight for a revision of the sociologically untenable conditions prevailing in the question of women's rights in this country. As matters stand today, any man can divorce his wife merely by paying a small fee to the *kathi*, without being compelled to support her for more than three months. According to the *Straits Times*, there is a mechanic in Ipoh who has married and divorced 22 young women. It costs him \$10 to get married, and \$5 for the divorce fee. In Kelantan, eight out of every ten marriages end that way.

By our resolution, we have committed UMNO to investigate and reform the marriage and divorce laws.

Yours etc.,

LIJAH BINTE SOFFIE

Kuala Lumpur.

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Japan and America : Recession Review

By Hugh H. Smythe

THE past six months have witnessed further assertion of more independence and less reliance on the US by Japan.

This, of course, is to be expected. With the American Recession causing increasing apprehension in Japan, the Japanese have given considerable thought to markets and trade, the elements basic to her survival. Trade with the US is the problem that looms large, for more than 22 percent of her total exports and approximately 33 percent of her imports are accounted for by the American market; and this trade is of vital importance in the stabilisation and expansion of the Japanese economy. However, exports to America have run into tariff restrictions which hit the islands heavily, since the greater part of products exported to the US are produced in small and medium-sized Japanese industries. The seriousness of the situation was pointed up in the case of the city of Tsubame in Niigata-ken, with a factory that makes stainless steel flatware, 80 percent of which is produced for sale in the United States. American interests, finding their own sales diminishing, asked President Eisenhower to raise tariffs, which if complied with would throw 50,000 Japanese of Tsubame out of work. Although a delegation from there came to Washington to plead against raising tariff rates, as Congress began hearings on extension of the reciprocal trade act the outlook was not too hopeful for Japan and her exporters.

The downward trend in the American economy has had a devastating effect on Japanese business causing a cut of 30 percent in output which has resulted in the closing of plants, layoffs, and bankruptcies. Although Japanese economists hoped such measures would hold the slump to manageable proportions until the expected upturn in July, others were not so optimistic in the face of factors adversely affecting the home market, such as retrenchment by America and other overseas buyers, increased international trade competition, and unrest in Indonesia — just in process of rebuilding as a market for Japanese goods.

While the situation remains bleak on the American front, the Japanese Cabinet last February began taking steps to open up new avenues for exports by approving a special \$15 million fund for the development of South-East Asian nations. This money is to be invested in countries desiring economic cooperation tie-ups with Japan. The Cabinet provided machinery for transferring the sum to the proposed South-East Asian Development Fund, in which Japan has asked the US to participate. Both America and countries who would be involved received this proposal cautiously. The Asian nations look upon it as a move to revive Japan's prewar "greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere" in another form. Elsewhere American businessmen were critical of Japan's efforts to penetrate the oil-rich Middle East with a proposal to drill for oil in the Persian Gulf, where US interests are large. They feared a newly formed Japan-Arabia oil company planned to undercut prices of Western companies, although the Japanese denied this.

In the midst of this adverse economic picture a few

bright spots loomed on the horizon. In April, after Under-secretary of Commerce Walter Williams returned to the US following four weeks of advising Japanese businessmen on how to increase their exports to and reduce their trade deficit with America, Japanese businessmen organised a private Japan-United States Trade Committee. It is to promote trade relations between the two countries, as well as draft counter measures to an American movement to curtail imports of Japanese goods, send a survey mission to the US, and set up a liaison office in America. In addition, the shipyards of Japan continued their postwar high operational trend with Japan setting a world record for peacetime launchings with 443 merchant ships in 1957; this left America in eighth place for launchings. At the end of February the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and three New York banks made loans totalling \$8 million to the Kawasaki Steel Corporation to enable it to expand its facilities. Also, the winning of two places in the Japanese government-sponsored international motion picture competition by American productions enables Japanese exhibitors to import more US films, which still go well with the Japanese public. Japan has not neglected the non-Asian possibilities in her own area and last February Australian trade with Japan was reported looking up after several years of coolness between the two countries. But on the whole, as Foreign Minister Aichihiro Fujiyama told an audience of the Japanese-American society in Yokohama last April 7, "The campaign to restrict imports in the US is spreading" and is causing the Japanese much concern.

While apprehensive about this development that can play havoc with life in Japan, the Japanese became enmeshed in trade relations with Mainland China last spring. A private trade agreement between a Japanese group and Communist China raised the ire of the Nationalist Chinese Government on Formosa. It felt that the Tokyo Government's permission in allowing this trade mission to enter Japan was tantamount to official recognition of Peking. Exchanges between Tokyo and Peking got underway, but in mid-April the business pact was cancelled by the Chinese with the Peking radio accusing Premier Nobosuke Kishi of collusion with the US and Nationalist China, and condemning the Japanese for being insincere.

As regards relations with other Communist countries, at the end of 1957 Japan signed three accords on trade, commerce and navigation with the Soviet Union which was viewed in some American circles as a prelude to negotiations on a full-fledged peace treaty to supersede the declaration of October 19, 1956, that formally ended World War II hostilities between Russia and Japan. The agreements gave each country most favoured-nation treatment, with Japan permitted to withhold goods barred for shipment to Communist countries under her pact with the US. This did not deter Japan, however, from siding with the US and other western powers on the proposal for an East-West Summit Meeting. For she called upon Russia to prove her sincerity by endorsing a policy of peaceful liberation for

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Europe and an end to the occupation of the islands off Hokkaido and the Southern Kuriles.

Turning to the military side of things, the American Defence department contracted to buy \$21 million worth of Japanese-manufactured military trucks during 1958, while the Japanese Government approved informally a five-year contract which permits the Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Co. to build Sikorsky S-55 helicopters under a technical assistance contract with United Aircraft Corporation of America. Meanwhile, the Japanese Defence Agency announced plans in April to buy 300 Super Tiger jet aircraft from the Grumman Aircraft Engineering Corp. of New York, with production scheduled to begin in 1959. At the same time the Lockheed Aircraft Service-Overseas, Inc., and the US Navy Bureau of Aeronautics signed a contract under which the company will provide technical assistance and material for the manufacture in Japan of P2V-7 Neptune anti-submarine patrol aircraft to the value of \$22 million. This agreement was made following the signing of a mutual security pact between the US and Japan on January 15 in Tokyo. The Kawasaki Aircraft Co. of Gifu was selected to manufacture the planes. US military purchases in Japan continued on a helpful upward scale with purchases in Japan last year gaining \$43,500,000 over those of 1956, with total goods and services reaching \$134,510,182, according to a report at the end of January by the US Army procurement agency. An order for \$33 million worth of jeeps and other military vehicles made in Japan for her own defence was the largest single item; other large contracts included those for aircraft, vehicle repairs and rebuilding, and the purchase of coal.

As regards American military personnel, a February

report from the US Army stated that all American ground combat troops had been removed from Japan with logistical units down to less than 15,000 men. US Air Force and Navy personnel remain at about 40,000 and 20,000 respectively. This reduction of American fighting units has helped reduce the number of "incidents" that foster anti-Americanism, but sporadic instances still crop up. Although both Japan and America would like to forget and forego any further Girard cases, comparable situations still arise from time to time with the latest involving US airman Benjamin B. Owyang, who was sentenced to three years imprisonment in February for the fatal stabbing of a Japanese in a highway brawl. Such cases, however, are infrequent now, and the lesser incidents do not arouse the emotion-disturbing publicity they once did in Japan.

As for other military matters, while Japan last January vouchsafed she has "no intention" of joining any North Pacific defence alliance similar to NATO and SEATO, even if one is formed, it did turn its attention to the matter of the development of its own naval force. In April the Government informed America that because of this growth it would want to make greater use of Japanese naval base facilities now being administered by the US Navy. Although no immediate response was forthcoming during the fifth meeting of the US-Japanese Committee on Security which met in Tokyo, the two sides did discuss the relinquishing to Japan of American-held radar sites with the plan to have all such installations in Japanese hands at the end of a three-year period.

While this was being concluded in an amicable fashion, America was still finding trouble with Okinawa. Her fumbling in local elections there last January, to secure the selection

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of a mayor sympathetic to the US position backfired, and the Okinawans elected a strongly anti-American leftist, Saichi Kaneshi, as Mayor of Naha. And in March, in voting for the Ryukyu island-wide legislature, the Socialist Masses Party, which is both anti-American and anti-Communist, won 9 of the 29 seats to 7 for the pro-American Democrats, while the Communists took 5. The Socialists favour the return of Okinawa to Japan and oppose America's basing of atomic weapons there. Though official Tokyo sources said these developments would only add to the difficulty of America's administration of the islands, there was no doubt of sympathy for the demand of Inejiro Asanuma, Secretary General of Japan's Socialist Party, that the US give up administration of Okinawa and return political control to Japan. But there is not the slightest chance of this coming to pass within the near future.

Nuclear matters continue to make news between the two nations. Although Japan chided the US that it was "regrettable" she had left the initiative in suspending nuclear tests to Russia and continued to protest testing by the US of atomic and other nuclear weapons in the Pacific, Washington went right ahead with its programme. It promised to "give consideration to the question of compensation" if any damage accrued. In the meantime, while the Japanese Defence Board was entertaining plans to equip Japan with missiles it was running headlong into difficulties with the Japan Teachers Union who opposed its use of the small island of Niihima, 100 miles south of Tokyo, as a testing site for Swiss-made Erikon guided missiles. They condemned the Defence Board while taking a crack at the US indirectly by saying, "We must avoid the recurrence on our peaceful island of such vicious crimes as have been seen in places where soldiers have been stationed." As this controversy transpired, officials of both countries went forward and signed an agreement at the end of April aimed at helping Japan begin an atomic power programme. The US will supply Japan with 2,700 kilograms of U-235 over a 10-year period for fuelling both research and power reactors.

This action is symbolical of what has been going on in Japan for some time now, as those of the "old order" continue to ease back into power and work steadily at erasing "left-overs" from Occupation reforms. Study is still going on to determine whether Japan's controversial postwar Constitution, with emphasis placed mainly on the anti-war pledge, was of purely American manufacture or actually reflective of leading Japanese thought. Appointments of former war criminals to office are still being made. The latest being Okinor Kaya, wartime Finance Minister and said

to be the architect of Japan's prewar "greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere," who was sentenced to life imprisonment but freed in 1955. He was made an economic adviser to the Kishi Government. And in April the Japanese reported that the ashes of Gen. Hideki Tojo and six other executed war criminals had been stolen, preserved, and would now be enshrined in a monument. Education reforms to restore some of the rigidity with military overtures and obedience to the Emperor and the throne are pushed. While this trend slowly eats away at Occupation-inspired patterns, the political pot boils heatedly in Japan with America ever the victim of Socialist Party harangue. This was exemplified in Socialist party adviser Jotaro Kawakami's claim at the dissolution of the Diet on April 25 that the Kishi Government was "still subservient to the United States." The May election results are indicative of the strong conservative tendencies in Japanese society. Unless the Recession in America becomes worse and has an even greater effect on the Japanese economy than at present, conservative forces will continue to dominate the scene. All of which will have significant effect in terms of relations with America becoming more and more independent, with the trend for those in authority to turn to Africa, the Middle East, and especially to Asia, which Japan looks upon as her natural market.

The friendship between the US and Japan faces no real threat as yet, and symbols of the amicable association are to be found in the continuous purely cultural interchanges, such as the appearance of the New York City Ballet troupe in Japan, the gifting of dogwood trees to Tokyo as a memorial to the late Mayor Yukio Ozaki who, nearly fifty years ago, sent the famous cherry trees to Washington, the stressing of study of Asian languages in the United States, and so on.

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Congress and the Opposition Parties

By Raji Narasimhan (New Delhi)

THE reverses in by-elections and elections to district councils that the Congress-Party has suffered in the past few months, seem to support the oft-repeated opinion that it has outlived its usefulness, and that its continued existence has been possible only because of the Prime Minister's popularity. To some extent this is true. Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan, founder-leader of the Praja Socialist party, who left politics some time ago to devote himself to Bhoodan work, recently described the present state of affairs in India as a national crisis. He has suggested "cooperation among all democratic parties with identity of purpose, so that the developing national crisis can be effectively tackled." Specifically, he has suggested that the Congress and the Praja Socialist parties should merge, since the two have a great deal in common, "each believing in the democratic way of life." Their separate labels, he said, which might be significant and even necessary in normal times lose their meaning when the nation is confronted with crisis after crisis.

Mr. Narayan's call for a merger was welcomed by many; but Mr. Nehru categorically denied that there was a developing crisis in the country. Mr. Nehru's reaction to Mr. Narayan's proposal may seem unduly stubborn to many, and his subsequent assertion, that the speak of demoralisation in the Congress was irresponsible, may seem mere peptalk. While it may be true that Mr. Nehru could have been more realistic, it would be well to keep in mind that the Congress is not quite the spent force it is too often made out to be.

In the mass mind, the Congress Party continues to be closely identified with the freedom struggle; it is firmly entrenched in the villages. However slow and painful economic progress may have been under Congress rule, the country, since independence, has suffered no major economic crisis. No other party has been able to overcome the traditional inertia of the villagers as the Congress under Gandhi once did. This (as well as a fragmented opposition) is a factor of strength for the Congress. It would not do to forget, either, that in two open and fair general elections since independence, the Congress has been returned to power by an overwhelming majority of the voters. It has more flexibility than any other party. This could be a weakness, in that it might cause a dispersal of energy; but it may also be a source of strength, for it enables adaptation to changing conditions and to the diversity-in-unity that is India.

The Congress Party's president, Mr. U. N. Dhebar, recently made a significant point in connection with the Party's place in the country. For a backward country like India, he said, unused as it was to parliamentary practice, a truly national organisation rather than a parliamentary political party was necessary. The present decline in the Party's influence, he thought, was due to the fact that Congress had become somewhat remote from the people, an inevitable result of its beginning to function purely as a parliamentary party. The question was, therefore, not whether a parliamentary Opposition was or was not possible in India

at the moment, but whether it was at all desirable to have one.

It would be unrealistic to ignore, however, that though the Congress is not quite in decline, its popularity has lessened. This is shown, as remarked earlier, by the series of election reverses it has suffered recently. But a cause of the reverses no less significant than the weakness of the party itself, was, it must be said, the apathy of the electorate. As one observer put it, "It needs no elaborate reasoning to prove that the absentee vote was potentially the Congress vote. The supporters of a new party are seldom among those who abstain from voting. It is only those who are generally disenchanted with the Congress but are not at the same time prepared to stake their trust in new-fangled ideas and untested programmes and claims of new parties who keep away."

A reversal at the hustings that immediately comes to mind was the by-election at Maudaha, in Uttar Pradesh state. In this by-election, Mr. C. B. Gupta, a pillar of the Congress party, suffered a defeat at the hands of the Praja Socialist party for the second time. He had already been defeated once at the general election. This reversal in a prestige constituency was closely followed by the disquieting results of the elections to the Delhi Corporation held some weeks ago. Out of the total of 80 seats, all of which the Congress contested, the party has been able to capture only 31. The communalistic Jan Sangh, a comparative newcomer, captured 25 seats, and the Communist party eight. The Praja Socialists did not get a single seat. Out of the 54 percent or so of the votes cast, of a total of 960,000, the Congress polled fewer than 271,408, about 25 percent.

The reasons for the decline of the Congress, are not ideological inferiority or conflict. The decline is caused by internal dissensions and factionalism, which are themselves the result of individual political ambitions taking precedence over party interest. These conditions exist openly in Mysore, where recently "dissidents" launched a signature campaign against the Chief Minister, that had to be suppressed by the Congress High Command, and in the Punjab, where instability has almost come to be taken as normal. In West Bengal, too, an unprecedented situation was created by the violent indictment of the Ministry by a Minister.

However, when talking of party disintegration and party indiscipline, it would be as well to keep in mind that this is not exclusively the curse of Congress. Similar troubles have been reported from within the ranks of the Praja Socialists, the Socialists (led by Dr. Lohia), and the Jan Sangh. The solidarity even of the Communist party (CPI) appears little more than a facade when the alignments and realignments of its leaders, a feature of the party's recent congress at Amritsar, are considered — together with the remarkable flexibility of some of them. The result of the recent Bombay election to the State Legislative Council, in which the State Communist party's "official" candidate was defeated by a "non-official" Communist candidate is hardly an indication of the Communist party's immunity to "party

indiscipline." In comparing its solidarity with the Congress, however, the totalitarian nature of the organisation, with its iron discipline, should also be taken into account.

From all outward appearances, the preamble of the CPI's amended constitution is indicative of the party's reconciliation to the existence of an Opposition under Communist rule, and to the achieving of socialism by peaceful means. But these democratic professions have only occasioned mistrust and cynicism. In the course of his address to the Congress Socialist Forum in New Delhi and again, while speaking before the Congress workers of Bombay, Mr. Nehru emphasised the Communists' traditional and ideological adherence to violence. More bluntly, the Congress President, Mr. Dhebar, said, in course of an address to Presidents and Secretaries of the State Congress organisations, that "democracy and Communism did not go together" and that Marxism was inconsistent with peaceful means.

So far the Communist party in Parliament, with about 30 members, has been the only solid Opposition group. But recently a merger of various groups and Independents has taken place; the result is a combination known as the United Socialist party. Its leadership is vested in the veteran, Acharya J. B. Kripalani, who leads the Praja Socialist group in Parliament, and Mr. R. K. Khadilkar, an Independent member. The United Socialist party will provide a democratic Opposition group. Its membership at present is about 40. The number that will gain the party official recognition as an Opposition party is 50, and the party's leaders hope to increase it to this number by the time Parliament meets for its next session, in August. The USP comprises the Praja Socialists, a group of independents led by Mr. Khadilkar, and the Ganatantra Parishad, which is said to incline steeply to the Right. This has led some to doubt whether the newly formed party will be able to

function cooperatively.

In the country generally there has been much talk of merger between the Praja Socialist party and Dr. Lohia's Socialist party. While Dr. Lohia is opposed determinedly to any kind of merger, his lieutenants are mostly for it, including Mr. P. V. Raju, who is a member of the Lok Sabha (House of the People). However, many Socialists find it difficult to reconcile themselves to the statements of some PSP leaders recommending a merger between the PSP and the Congress party. There seems much truth in the remark of the PSP leader, Mr. Asoka Mehta, that "The Left, by nature, is prone to fission rather than fusion."

It has been considered possible by some that the Communists and the Jan Sanghites in Parliament will combine. The Communists have not in the past hesitated to combine with communal groups like the Jan Sangh and they may do so again. But such a combination would only add prestige to the Congress party, for communalism is at a discount and is very perceptibly disappearing from Mr. Nehru's India.

All considered, the chances of the emergence immediately of a democratic Opposition group in the country seem somewhat slim. The political state is fluid, and only two parties have organisations worth the name — the Congress and the Communist. Moreover, by its adoption of a "socialist pattern of society" as its ideal, the Congress has, as it were, taken the wind out of the sails of non-Communist Leftist parties. A similarity of ideals has been created, and the PSP leaders, who recommend a merger between the Congress and the PSP are only being logical. There is, indeed, much in favour of Mr. Narayan's view that the present stage in India's development should be considered as being one of emergency, and that various groups identical in ideals and aspirations should join together, subordinating party interests to those of the country.

INDIANS IN CEYLON

By C. K. Balasundaram (Colombo)

DURING the last century, large numbers of Indian labourers were induced to leave their country and to work on plantations growing up in various parts of the world. This emigration was "induced emigration," at the instance of the rulers of India and the employers in the British colonies. These people put their blood and sweat into the country of their adoption, and the history of these countries will eloquently testify to the value of their work.

With the dawn of India's Independence in 1947, a strange phenomenon appeared: some of the countries which had benefited so much from the toil of these labourers suddenly became aware of their presence and tried to deprive them of their rights or to throw them back upon India. Ceylon is one such country. The foreign exchange that Ceylon earns today from her export of tea would give some indication at least of the contribution to Ceylon's prosperity made by these workers brought into Ceylon during the seventies of the last century. They were imported into Ceylon for obvious economic reasons.

Nearly three-quarters of a century ago or earlier, some villager in India crossed the Straits to Ceylon on being promised gainful employment. He had, walking behind him,

a weather-beaten and toil-hardened woman who was his wife, and a naked, grimy child — his son. This wanderer worked in some distant corner of Ceylon and the proliferation of the tea-bush all over the hill-side was a sign also of the continuation of his own life. The thin, grimy child grew up, continued the labour where his father had begun, married and in due course became the father of a family. To him the only land he has known as his homeland is that stretch on the hill-side, dotted with tea bushes. His flesh and blood grew out of this soil. He considers this soil that rewards his labour as his motherland, and the tiny line-room in the estate his home. He is not alone in this drama of life unfolding. There were others who also had settled down and multiplied so that today there are some 900,000 of them — the estate labourers. With a few exceptions they have forgotten the names of villages their ancestors had come from, and to them India now is a foreign land.

Today, these people are being told that they are not citizens of Ceylon; that they are depriving the "locals" of their means of livelihood, that they must go back to the land of their ancestors. This is the kind of fate that is overtaking these so-called "people of Indian origin" — the

bulk of whom are estate labourers, the rest entrepreneurs, salaried workers, wage labourers — and even barbers and sweepers. These people have become a problem and India is expected to find a solution. India had not created the problem: she could not in any way be held responsible for these people being where they are.

Here is a situation which cannot be met by emotion or by reason alone. Emotion has to be rationalised by reason, and reason tempered with human charity and compassion. It is all very well for a tub-thumping electioneer to tilt at the windmill, but the scapegoat also happens to be the architect of his country's prosperity. There lies the function of reason — to identify the essentials of the problem and to indicate a solution. It is not a question of disposing of 900,000 nuts and bolts, but of deciding upon the fate of that many human beings with human loyalties and human aspirations.

According to the laws of Ceylon, any non-national entering the country after the first of November, 1949 without valid travel documents is an illicit immigrant. India has no quarrel with that law. After all, every country has a right to regulate the entry of foreigners. Anybody who is an illicit immigrant under this law and is proved to be an Indian national according to the laws of India, is to be deported to India; and India has agreed to take back such people exercising merely the normal discretion in requiring prior proof of the person's Indian nationality. If, *prima facie*, such people are Indian nationals, they are immediately issued one-way travel documents.

The so-called "Indian problem" in Ceylon is not, therefore, mainly concerned with these kind of people, but the tub-thumping fraternity would not let go of the spectre of their imagination that illicit immigrants are flooding Ceylon. Why would a poor villager leave his own country and journey into the unknown? There must be sufficient inducement for him to do so. This inducement is offered him by agents and touts operating on behalf of interested parties in Ceylon itself. One learns from the Press Notes issued from time to time that the Government of India have taken, are taking, and will continue to take, stern measures, on the one hand to apprehend such touts and agents and on the other the potential illicit emigrants. In 1956, as many as 474 raids were carried out by the special police force employed for this purpose, resulting in arrests of 641 potential illicit emigrants, 413 touts and agents, 80 crew members of country boats and 16 boat owners. Three boats were also seized. In 1957, 344 raids were carried out and arrests numbered 618 potential emigrants, 300 touts and agents, 68 boat-crew and four boat-owners. Three boats were also seized. Those who, as touts, etc., try to induce the others to leave for Ceylon and are apprehended, are tried and given condign punishment. The figures from the beginning of this year to the end of March are 75 raids, 127 emigrants, 63 touts and agents and one boat-crew man arrested, one boat seized.

India has never denied that in spite of the best efforts of the police and through propaganda, some people do elude observation and leave for Ceylon. It is quite possible that in addition to those who are arrested and deported by the Government of Ceylon, there may be a few who escape detection. But who are these people? Are they fresh immigrants every time or are they among those poorly paid workers who are unceremoniously thrown out — out of employment, out of the island altogether, out into the un-

known. On a modest estimate seven out of ten persons who are arrested as illegal immigrants, are persons who have, on one technical ground or another, in the past, been thrown out of Ceylon: they went to the nearest country, India, but they had no roots there, nothing to bind them to what was to them an alien land. When they go back to Ceylon, they are "technically" illicit immigrants, and so the Government of India agrees to the deportation.

There were two categories of people of Indian origin in Ceylon; one, those who went to Ceylon for employment for a limited period only, and secondly, those who went ages ago and have settled down. In the case of the first category, India has by herself recognised the right of the Government of Ceylon to decide whether the visas given to them should be renewed or not. What India is interested in is to see that the discretion of the Government of Ceylon does not become catastrophic for these people. Of the nearly 60,000 people who have left Ceylon so far (since September 1954) nearly 30,000 had left the island for good on the termination of their residence permits; another 31,000 (approximately) left voluntarily. So, where is the problem? It all boils down to the fate of the 900,000 on the estates.

The "people of Indian origin" had been asked to apply for registration as Ceylon citizens. What happened? Something like 237,000 applications covering over 800,000 people were submitted. As figures were being given out from time to time, it became apparent that roughly ten percent of the applications were being accepted. Was it merely accident, law of probability, law of averages or even of relativity, that the percentage of acceptances would remain almost constant over a length of time? Or was there a definite directive given to the Commissioners of Registration to the effect that only ten percent of the applications should be accepted? Would it be reasonable to say that there is suspicion that it was so?

The unfortunate 90 percent whose applications were rejected became citizens of no land — "stateless." It is this "stateless" population that India has declined to accept. They have been in Ceylon for 40, 50, 60 years or even longer. More than 80 percent of them have been born in Ceylon. They have nothing to bind them to any country but Ceylon; yet India is being told that these people are Indian nationals — a proposition that India has, with reason, said she cannot accept. The "stateless" population — the residual 90 percent rejections — which is made out to be a great problem in Ceylon, is the product of a hasty and inconsiderate administrative act carried out by the Government of Ceylon. India will not object to the Government of Ceylon calling some Ceylon residents "stateless," but India has every right to object to the Ceylon Government passing on the responsibility to her. In fact, the stand taken all along by India has been that all these people are not Indian nationals; if the Government of Ceylon regard them as "stateless," it is their own responsibility.

It seems therefore that the Indian problem in Ceylon falls into three distinct categories: (a) Those Indian nationals who are in Ceylon on visas and are there on specific terms and conditions; (b) The estate labourers, most of whom the Government of Ceylon on their own responsibility have thought fit to declare "stateless"; (c) The illicit immigrants. In respect of (a) India has made it quite clear that she expects her nationals who fall in this category to observe

the laws of Ceylon. In respect of (b) India has stated that she is unable to be responsible for anybody who is declared "stateless" by another State — a position which is vindicated as much by law and logic and reason as by considerations of humanity and compassion. In respect of (c) India has again and again reiterated her determination to stamp out illegal emigration and the least that the Ceylon Government could do in return is to stamp out the root of the evil which is in the island itself. No instance can be cited where India has not given the fullest possible cooperation to Ceylon, so much so that even the Prime Minister of Ceylon admitted late in 1957 that the problem of these illicit

immigrants was more under control than ever before.

What India has done is to take the same stand as would have been taken by any other country placed in similar circumstances. There has been no "innundation" of Ceylon with "sly entrants" — at least not within the knowledge of those who ought to know in India, nor has India refused to take any responsibility that would be hers either by mutual agreements or by international law or by common usage. It is unfortunate that the completely reasonable policy pursued by India should provide grist for the mill of those "experts" who produce three panaceas a day for all the ills that beset a country.

Pakistan's Relations with the West

By G. W. Choudhury (Dacca)

ON the eve of the fourth annual meeting of the SEATO council in Manila in March 1958, the Prime Minister Malik Feroz Khan Noon of Pakistan, who has been always regarded as one of the staunchest supporters of Pakistan's pro-western policy, severely criticised the western allies for their lack of sympathy and understanding of Pakistan's difficulties and problems. The occasion was a debate on Kashmir in the National Assembly when Pakistan's foreign policy came under heavy fire. The speakers representing various parties and groups in the National Assembly, attacked what was termed as "bowing to the West" and urged for the adoption of an "independent foreign policy." It was alleged that Pakistan's membership to the Military pacts such as SEATO and the Baghdad Pact had been of no benefit. The Prime Minister hinted that if the people of Pakistan found their freedom in jeopardy they would break all the pacts and "would go and shake hands with those whom they had made their enemies for the sake of others."

It was further reported that the Prime Minister's blunt speech was not just a snap outburst of emotional feelings but was the result of "considered policy" of the Government. Informed sources said that although it was for the first time that the Prime Minister had publicly expressed the views of the Pakistan Government with regard to the attitude of allies and alliances of Pakistan in strong words, he had had talks with western diplomatic circles behind the scenes. Mr. Noon is reported to have told the western powers in clear terms that Pakistan expected her friends to rise to the occasion in her difficulties. He tried to bring home the basic needs and expectations of Pakistan during these talks with the western leaders during the Baghdad Pact council meeting at Ankara in January 1958.

Neither Mr. Noon nor his Republican party enjoys any special popularity or support in the country, yet the Prime Minister's resentments against the western allies were echoed in almost all the press of the country who joined in an unanimous chorus in attacking what was termed as the "lukewarm" attitude of "our friends." Never has Pakistan's association with the free world been subjected to such hostile comments and criticisms. It is also significant that

the press in some of the "trusted" allied Asian countries such as Thailand, Iran, Turkey and Iraq also expressed their sympathy for Pakistan and referred to the alleged "neglect" by the West. It was pointed out that while the western powers expect their Asian allies to give up neutrality in the cold-war with the Soviet Union, they themselves prefer to be neutral in the vital problems and difficulties facing these countries, and make no distinction between their Asian Friends and "those who sit on the fence" and those who receive aid from both sides. This "lukewarm attitude" of the western powers was alleged to encourage the spread of neutralism or rather the influence of the Soviet Union in Asia. The position of the Government of the Asian allies is said to be made more embarrassing as a result of this lack of mutual sympathy and understanding between the western powers and their Asian friends.

It was only in 1956, when Pakistan proclaimed herself to be a Republic, that her pro-western policy received approval in the National Assembly. The then Foreign Minister referred to Pakistan's relation with the West as "bound by closest ties of mutual understanding." Similarly, during the Suez crisis when anti-western feelings were running high in the Muslim countries, Pakistan's Prime Minister Mr. Shurawardy gave most powerful support to the Baghdad Pact. Pakistan could justifiably claim that she most faithfully and vigorously played her part as a trusted ally of the West, since her entry into SEATO, her military pact with the United States in 1954 and the Baghdad Pact in 1955. She has consistently supported and upheld western policies and actions on such vital issues as China, Hungary and disarmament. When an attempt was made to turn the Bandung conference against the western powers, Pakistan along with some other countries such as Iraq and Turkey, frustrated it. While condemning colonialism at Bandung, she insisted on also censuring the "new colonialism of the Soviet Union." The special study mission of the committee on Foreign Affairs of the US House of Representatives which visited Pakistan in 1955, remarked:

"Pakistan rejects neutralism. It has openly pledged its resources to the efforts of the Free World." "At a time when many countries are refusing to make such steps, the study mission was impressed by the determination of Pakistan to maintain its freedom, in close association with other free countries. Pakistan is an active member of the

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South-East Asia Treaty Organisation and the Baghdad Pact. It has the largest and strongest military force allied with the Free World between Turkey and Taiwan."

For such outright actions and support to the western cause, Pakistan incurred the wrath of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. During their visit to India and Afghanistan in 1955, the then Soviet Premier Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev made statements which were highly damaging to Pakistan's interests. They even challenged the very basis of the country by describing it as the creation of British policy of "divide and rule." Similarly, they declared Kashmir as an integral part of India; never before had the Soviet Union taken such partisan and pro-Indian stand on that issue. From Kabul, they made equally hostile statements on the Pak-Afghan dispute by openly supporting Afghanistan's "Pakhtoonistan" idea which constituted a direct threat to Pakistan's territorial integrity and sovereignty. Then, in the Security Council, when the Kashmir question was resumed in 1957, the Soviet Union exercised its seventy-ninth veto against any proposal to send UN forces to liberate the Muslims of Kashmir and on a second occasion killed another proposal by the threat of a veto. It is safe to presume that the recent Soviet actions and policies towards Pakistan are due to her closer association with the West. Pakistan had to pay the penalty for this friendship and alliance. This is the reason why Mr. Noon referred to Russia as "whom we made enemies for others." It cannot be said, however, that Pakistan has only been rewarded with Soviet hostility for her friendship with the West. She has also gained substantially: she is today much stronger militarily, she has acquired an added sense of security by being allied with a number of powerful countries.

But what has been most irritating is the deep-rooted and popular feeling that her friendship has not been properly valued and her difficulties have not been appreciated. These difficulties are mainly with her larger neighbour, India. Mr. Noon complained that, because Pakistan was a small country, everybody wanted to shake hands with stronger and richer India. It was the failure of the western powers to bring enough pressure on India to fulfil her international commitments on Kashmir which has made Pakistan so critical of her friends and allies. It is felt that Pakistan is being let down as India's friendship is regarded as more valuable in global strategy. The West seems to regard Nehru and Mao Tse-tung as the only alternatives in Asia. They, therefore, desperately woo Nehru even at the cost of sacrificing the interests of loyal but poor Pakistan. It was reported that the US Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge after his recent tour in Asia had given the advice to strive for India's friendship and not to offend her on such issues as Kashmir. Similarly the British Prime Minister, Macmillan, during his recent Commonwealth tour was said to be "profoundly influenced by Nehru to the detriment of Pakistan."

Further cause for resentment was provided by the news that the western powers were unwilling to discuss in the Security Council the latest report on Kashmir by Dr. Frank Graham because it might "lead to the bogging down of their relations with India now showing a marked improvement." It may be added that Dr. Graham made five proposals for the settlement of the Kashmir dispute. Each of his five proposals was accepted by Pakistan; each was rejected out of hand by India. India's intransigence on

Kashmir, instead of being condemned, received encouragement by the failure of the West even to discuss the report.

Pakistan's link with the West is likely to be seriously challenged in the coming general elections in November this year. The pro-western policy which was supported vigorously by successive governments and various parties, may not enjoy such support and appreciation if there is no rational and mutual understanding between Pakistan and her western allies. This requires self-criticism by both sides. The most dominating factor in Pakistan's foreign policy is the fear of Indian aggression and the liberation of the Muslims in Kashmir. The Communist threat or Communist ideology does not figure to the same extent in her foreign policy. While entering into the military pacts and alliances, the fear of aggression which was uppermost in her mind was not Soviet or Chinese aggression, but the threat from her neighbour India. It was this factor which led her to insist on the inclusion of all types of aggression into the treaty of SEATO which the United States refused to accept. If Pakistan's active and continued loyalty is to be maintained for long, her fear of Indian aggression must be allayed; unless this is satisfied she shall not be an enthusiastic member of the "free world." Pakistan is sincerely devoted to the causes of the "free world," she is equally opposed to the atheistic materialism and totalitarianism of the Soviet Union. But no country can afford to ignore the immediate threat to its territorial integrity and Pakistan cannot be an exception.

Pakistan's existence as a sovereign state was threatened from the very beginning. A part of her territory, comprising Junnagadh and some adjoining States which legally formed part of Pakistan, was forcibly occupied by India. Another Muslim State, Hyderabad, which had not yet decided to accede either to India or Pakistan, was taken over by India by means of military conquest. Kashmir is still occupied in defiance of United Nations principles and obligations. Neither the Government nor the people of Pakistan could feel secure in the face of such threatening developments. Pakistan is not fortunate enough to enjoy that freedom from fear of external aggression which is so vital and necessary for the progress and prosperity of a country.

"If the strong spiritual faith and martial spirit" (Dulles) of the eighty million people of Pakistan are to be retained, her difficulties and problems should receive more sympathetic appreciation and consideration. It would be a mistake to take Pakistan for granted. The feelings of resentment and discontent as expressed in the debates in the National Assembly may become soon too powerful to be checked. The Soviet agents are not idle to exploit this undercurrent of dissatisfaction.

At the same time, it has also to be realised by the Pakistani leaders that there should be a realistic and proper assessment of the expectations and gains from the various alliances and pacts. There must be a rational and dispassionate approach to international relations. It has to be borne in mind that much of Pakistan's present difficulties and hardships are due to her internal shortcomings and failures. Pakistan, since the death of Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan has been suffering from acute internal bickerings and political instability which have, no doubt, affected adversely her international problems and prestige. Instead of putting all the blame on her friends and allies, the leaders should make a heart-searching of the difficulties and problems facing Pakistan today.

ASIAN SURVEY

CEYLON AFTER THE STORM

From J. A. Perera in Colombo

PEACE and quiet are slowly returning to strife-torn Ceylon after several anxious days of communal disturbances. The Government's battle against the "forces of disorder," which were on the rampage throughout the country following communal disturbances on the language issue, is virtually over. In Colombo, its suburbs and in the provincial towns, which were targets for hoodlum attacks, calm and normality have been fully restored.

All credit for freeing this country from violence is due to the speed and force with which the Government's armed machinery moved in to suppress the disruptive forces. When the situation appeared to be beyond the control of the civilian police authorities, the Prime Minister, Mr. Solomon Bandaranaike, advised his Governor General, Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, to declare a state of emergency over the whole island. Simultaneously, the Government banned the two extremist political bodies—the Federal Party and the Jatika Vimukthi Peramuna (Sinhalese National Revival Front) led by former Government Parliamentarian, Mr. K. M. P. Rajaratne. (Mr. Rajaratne was unseated on an election petition last year). The first of these two Parties is a militant Tamil organisation which stands for a separate Federal state for the Tamil-speaking people of Ceylon. The other Party is a militant Sinhalese organisation which is based on stark racialism which is against the grant of any concessions to the Tamil-speaking people.

With the promulgation of the State of Emergency Orders, the authorities struck hard at the disruptive elements through a series of stern measures. A dusk to dawn curfew was rigorously enforced throughout the country. Public meetings and processions were banned and all notorious thugs and reconvicted criminals were rounded up and detained till the Emergency was over. In Jaffna and Batticaloa, the predominantly Tamil-speaking districts which gave the authorities an anxious time, all persons possessing firearms were ordered to surrender them. All units of Ceylon's Army, Navy and Air Force, including volunteer units, were mobilised in the war against "hooligan reign." A press censorship on all news relating to the riots was also clamped down, covering both the local and foreign press.

Since the introduction of the Sinhala Only Bill in Parliament by the Government in June 1956 making Sinhalese the only official language of the country, feelings between the Sinhalese and the Tamils were strained and running high. How-

ever, the immediate provocation for the recent civil riots was the Federal Party's annual sessions held at Vavuniya on May 24th and 25th. Hardly had the sessions begun than sporadic communal riots broke out, principally in areas in close proximity to the venue of the sessions. Delegates to the sessions were attacked. The riots spread to the Eastern Province where the derailment of a passenger train triggered off further riots in other parts of the country. Several were killed and others seriously injured in this train mishap.

The sessions, however, were continued in spite of the disturbances. The two main decisions arrived at at the Conference were, (1), that the leader of the Party, Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, MP, should resign from the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament appointed to revise the Constitution, to which he was appointed; (2), that the proposed civil disobedience campaign be postponed till August this year to give the Government sufficient time to present in Parliament a Bill to provide for the reasonable use of the Tamil language in the administration of the country. The sessions also appointed a Select Committee to draft the details of the satyagraha campaign.

The riots spread to Colombo on the morning of May 26th. Terror and hooliganism reigned for over four hours in the city until the armed forces were called out by the Governor General to assist the police in maintaining law and order. Several cases of arson, looting and thuggery were reported in the city. Attacks were made both on Tamil persons and Tamil-owned business establishments. The situation spread to the other areas the next day when, under the state of emergency, the armed forces moved with massive strength to quell the disturbances. Colombo and its suburbs were brought under control the following day.

But armed reinforcements had to be rushed to the predominantly Tamil, Northern and Eastern Provinces where an ugly situation had developed with the people there conducting not so much an anti-Sinhalese campaign as an anti-Government campaign. The excise and customs stations were attacked and the arms and ammunition stolen. The police were forced to withdraw from the smaller stations and seek refuge in three principal stations in the district. The telephone and telegraphic lines were cut daily, isolating these areas from the rest of the country. The residential quarters at the Kankesauntari aerodrome in the northern tip of Ceylon were completely burnt down. The customs stations at Kayts, an outpost also used by the Royal Ceylon Navy for operations against illicit immigration, was completely burnt down, as was the customs station at Velvetiturai—a reputed smugglers' paradise. In these areas the armed forces met with resistance from the civil population who were fully armed and fired on the military forces. The Army had to open fire too, killing several persons before the situation was brought fully under control. The Government reported that the disturbances in these areas were the work of a well organised group. This group was able to give further trouble to the Government when it discovered both the secret wavelength of the police radio and the secret cypher code of the police and used these to send out false orders and messages to the police and the Government. The Government promptly changed both the wavelength and the cypher code.

Following these disturbances nearly 12,000 panic-stricken

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Tamils, including women and children, left their homes and sought refuge in police stations. The Government took them over and housed them in improvised refugee camps at two public schools in Colombo. Similarly, the Government also undertook to care for the 2,100 Sinhalese refugees in the Northern Province. The Army was in charge of these refugees until the Government launched its "Operation Mercy" with the cooperation of three nations, the Japanese, British and the French. Five British ships, one Japanese and one French ship were requisitioned by the Government under special emergency powers. Some 4,000 Tamil and 1,200 Sinhalese refugees were transported to and from Jaffna by these ships.

Speaking at a special emergency session of Parliament summoned to discuss the state of emergency, the Prime Minister blamed the extremists of both camps for their activities which led to the present disturbances. Tracing the history of the language problem, he referred to the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact in which understanding on the language problem was reached. "But," he said, "we were not allowed to rest after that. The frustrated and disgruntled elements, the fanatical extremists started a campaign right away. They were most bitterly disappointed that there was a likelihood of peace obtaining in this country." Mr. Bandaranaike added, "We intend once and for all to deal with this situation in a way that will give peace to this country for years to come, and in doing so we shall deal with the elements of a disruptive and extremist character on both sides who are involved in this matter. This is an assurance I give this House and this country on behalf of the Government and that is my message to the people of this country."

The Leader of the Federal Party, Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayakam, speaking on the debate, said, "The question at issue was one of the greatest that faced the country—whether the people of the country belonging to different communities could not live together." Speaking on the banning of his Party, he said, "The mere banning of a Party could not kill the movement it represented."

The Leader of the Opposition, the Trotskyite Leader, Dr. N. M. Perera, whose Party has advocated parity of status for both the Tamil and Sinhalese languages in the country, asked why the whole nation should be roused up on an issue such as the number plates of a car. He requested the Government to alter its language policy, saying that not even one member of the Tamil community had faith in the Government.

The battle scars have still to heal. Law and order have been restored throughout the country with a substantial measure of success. But the State of Emergency will not be lifted for quite some time until the road back to reconciliation and communal harmony has been taken by the Government. A political solution is essential if the ills that beset the country are to be cured. Most observers of the political scene in Ceylon feel that the recent disturbances have been largely due to the Government's tolerance of extremist elements of both sides. Now that these organisations are proscribed, there is every hope of Ceylon being freed from racial insanity. These elements have never won the sympathy and support of the broad mass of people who are reasonable and anxious to see that justice is done to everybody in the island. They have always stood in the way of a just and fair solution being found to the language problem and no solution could ever be found to placate the extremists in both camps.

The solution will certainly be found in the two Bills which the Government has promised to introduce shortly in Parliament providing for the reasonable use of the Tamil language and for the creation of Regional Councils—local bodies with autonomous powers which would give the Tamil-speaking people in the Jaffna and Batticaloa districts a substantial amount of autonomy. The Government could also allay the fears of the racial and religious minorities by the introduction of a set of fundamental rights to be embodied in the Constitution when it is being revised.

India

Economic Crisis

From a Correspondent in Delhi

Both internal and external adverse factors are steadily saddling India with a very difficult economic situation. Opinions are being freely expressed that the country is heading towards an economic crisis. Prime Minister Nehru who in March stated that India's foreign exchange difficulties were virtually over, has now squarely recognised the urgency of practising domestic readjustment and of stepping up exports to tide over the "prevailing distressing position." The recession in the United States, heavy fall in foreign exchange earnings, food shortage, increase in price structures causing an inflationary upswing and industrial production bottleneck have aggravated uncertainties. The situation has become all the more critical due to continued large-scale deficit financing of the State projects under the current second five-year plan and limitation of national financial resources. Although the Government has enforced and is enforcing new measures to combat the looming crisis, it is becoming increasingly clear that India needs additional foreign financial assistance and a short-term improvement of the foreign exchange position not only to execute the planned projects both under public and private sectors but also to halt in a very effective manner the downward trend.

Despite the officially sponsored export drive to improve the foreign exchange position and to stop domestic deterioration, major exports are continuing to fall. Both textile and tea exports are substantially down. Considerable fall has been registered in jute exports and in engineering production. The consequent worsening of the foreign exchange position has compelled the Government to stop granting exchange facilities to the private sector even for the import of badly needed capital goods. This has dislocated the development work in the private sector. Then the rise in prices and its impact on the cost of living have made the labour restive throughout the country. In fact, strikes and lock-outs are going on without a let-up. At the same time steel production has been affected and this in turn has slowed down the turnover of the engineering works. Import restriction measures adopted to conserve foreign exchange have so reduced the flow of industrial raw materials that most industries are unable to increase their output to the extent required to meet the immediate national demand. Lower food production has aggravated the food scarcity, even though the Government is importing foodgrains from abroad. The food import is syphoning off a big slice of foreign exchange reserves.

Both official and private trade and economic teams are touring various European countries in search of financial credits and deferred payments arrangements for imports as well as to make best efforts for increasing this country's export trade. Prime Minister Nehru hopes, during the current financial year, to obtain foreign financial assistance to the tune of Rs. 3,250 million (£243,750,000). According to him, the total foreign economic assistance received by India up to the end of March last amounted to Rs. 4,630 million (1m. rupees equals £75,000). Advised by the Export Promotion Committee, the Government has ruled out devaluation of the rupee for providing incentive to export accretion. It has been decided that export earnings should be augmented to Rs. 7,500 million annually as against the planned yearly target of Rs. 6,150 million.

The safe limit of the deficit financing during the second plan period has been restored to the original figure of Rs. 12,000 million from the earlier readjustment amount of Rs. 9,000 million. During the past two years deficit financing has been

of the order of Rs. 7,200 million as against Rs. 6,000 million originally estimated. The Finance Ministry has announced that the increase in deficit financing will help national economy and that it is taking all necessary steps so that the new move would not result in increasing inflation. The total expenditure for the current financial year, third year of the second plan, will be Rs. 9,500 million, that is, Rs. 1,000 million more than the estimated actual expenditure. Thus by the end of the present financial year the total Government expenditure for the first three years of the second plan will be Rs. 25,000 million, leaving Rs. 23,000 million to be spent in the next two financial years. But the estimated expenditure which include deficit financing take into account that the required foreign exchanges would be available, food output would be increased, thereby restricting food imports, national savings would be considerably expanded and price levels would be lowered appreciably.

It was originally estimated that for consummating the second plan the total foreign exchange cost would be Rs. 9,720 million (£729 million). Up to the end of March this year foreign exchange payments made, aggregated, Rs. 3,820 million, leaving Rs. 5,900 million to be spent up to the end of March 1961, when the second plan ends. Actually the foreign reserves, including exchange earnings, credits, aid and securities now in hand earmarked for spending up to the end of March 1961, total only Rs. 2,480 million. The Government of India has no available resources and funds to meet the balance of Rs. 3,420 million. The fact that it has drastically curtailed foreign exchange spendings is evidence enough that it is not sure of receiving additional large-scale friendly credits. In spite of the difficulties it has decided to execute the planned projects without any fundamental alterations. India is leading Asia as a recipient of loans from the World Bank. New credit and technical cooperation facilities have been and are being arranged with friendly nations. On-the-spot investigation is being conducted to increase the export of tea, coffee, jute manufactures, tobacco and coir products to the Communist countries. Also vigorous attempts are being made to accelerate trade with Afro-Asian countries. Judged from the acute financial position it seems that even if these endeavours yield satisfactory results, they will not be sufficient to meet the major portion of the foreign exchange gap.

India has become the largest importer of rice in the world. At present there is no definite indication as to when India will be able to attain food self-sufficiency. Food imports constitute a severe drain on foreign exchanges. The crop outlook for the current year is not at all satisfactory. The pace of industrial production expansion which had slowed down in the last financial year is remaining stationary. In the past two months there has been an insignificant improvement. No wonder, the national economic picture has become fazy, but Prime Minister Nehru has confidently emphasised that the confusion and handicaps would be overcome by economic recovery efforts.

Malaya

Call - Up

From our Kuala Lumpur Correspondent

Young Malayan men between the ages of 17 and 28, who are citizens of this country, are now being registered for national service at registration centres throughout the country. However, at the moment, there is no plan to call-up these young men, merely to ascertain what manpower is available if the need should arise. The Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, has warned the remaining 1,500 Communist terrorists in the jungle

that unless they quit by August 31, the first anniversary of independence, an all-out drive to finish them off will be started. Several hundred hard-core Communists have already surrendered since the country became independent, and more are going to police stations to give up every week.

There is every likelihood that this current national registration will prove a success, unlike the fiasco in 1949-50, when a similar attempt was made only to prove a hideous failure. On that occasion, hundreds of youths, particularly Chinese, clamoured to get passports to leave the country and either return to Hong Kong or China. Thousands more made a last minute dash to Singapore where registration had not been introduced. All in all, the scheme became farcical and after a few months it had to be dropped. But this time with young men showing a higher degree of responsibility towards Malaya there is likely to be a negligible number of escapist. However, to be on the safe side, it has been laid down that those liable to register are not allowed to leave the Federation without an exit permit, except to go to Singapore.

On the whole, national registration has been welcomed by all political parties. Two parties outside the Alliance Government have called for the removal of all foreign troops from Malayan soil after national service is on a proper footing. Yet, when the British Army here begins cutting down its local employees (because of fewer troops in the country), there is a hue and cry stretching from one end of the country to the other. Recently the War Department (British) announced that it had been compelled to sack 151 Malayan clerks employed by them on the grounds of redundancy. This is 151 out of a total of 8,700 civilian employees.

A demonstration was organised in Kuala Lumpur by the War Department Civilian Staff Association to protest against the sacking of these men. And many of the officials of the WDCSA are themselves members of the Labour Party of Malaya, who are continually seeking the removal of British troops. Said one top official of the WDCSA: "When I speak as a member of the Labour Party I want the removal of all British and Commonwealth troops from Malaya, but when I speak as an official of the WDCSA then I want them to stay in order that we should not lose our jobs."

On more than one occasion in the last nine months, cabinet Ministers have spoken of the need to economise in Government expenditure now that the price of rubber and tin has fallen drastically, reducing by many millions of dollars the export duty normally derived from these products. They have said that Malaya just has not got the money to build up at speed its own armed forces and as a result the country must depend on protection offered by Britain and other countries. Already the Malayan Government is committed to taking over the Royal Malayan Navy very shortly from Singapore. Details are now being worked out by the two Governments. The Navy in future will operate from Federation bases but will continue to occupy its present barracks at Woodlands on Singapore Island until a main base is completed in the Federation.

The Federation Government will pay the Singapore Government annually for rent and all other charges for using the Woodlands base. In a recent statement, the Federation Government gave an assurance that pay, allowances and conditions of service of personnel in the Navy would, after the transfer, be at least the same as at present. Pensions and gratuities will be safeguarded. Personnel in the Navy will be invited to continue to serve after the transfer.

The first (a twin-engined Prestwick Pioneer) aircraft of the new Royal Malayan Air Force has now arrived. Later it is hoped to have another 11 aircraft of various descriptions to form the nucleus of the Air Force . . . but everything costs money, as this new nation is discovering.

It is a constant source of amazement in Malaya how many people apparently vanish, and yet they have not actually disappeared, but turn out to be living with a friend or relative in the next street. Today the Malayan Government is trying to trace more than 10,500 people who have applied for citizenship

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papers. Certificates posted to them have been returned undelivered. In most cases, the applicant was "unknown" at the given address. Because of this, the Registrar-General of Citizens has requested all who applied for certificates more than two weeks ago and have not received any reply, should get in touch with the office where the application was originally made. Considerable difficulty is also being experienced by the Citizenship Department in contacting many people who applied for citizenship before independence last August 31. Since November last year 103,535 applications submitted before independence have been dealt with. About 2,400 remain to be disposed of.

Letters and reminders have been sent to the applicants and teams have toured remote areas to complete the task. Now it has been decided that no further action will be taken to try and find people who applied to become citizens of Malaya before independence. However, the drive to recruit new citizens is still going ahead at top speed. It is estimated that since last August 31, a total of nearly 800,000 certificates have been issued. Those eligible to become citizens have been told that unless they register themselves before August 31 this year, they will not be able to vote in next year's general election.

Singapore

Constitutional Progress

From Our Singapore Correspondent

The Constitutional Talks in London are all over. The general feeling in Singapore political circles is one of either open or guarded satisfaction, with only the People's Action Party (PAP), through its spokesman Lee Kuan Yew, dissenting. The new constitution giving Singapore full internal self-government will probably come into force after the general elections, due to be held by the end of March next year. The British Government was successful in retaining the controversial clause debarring political detainees from contesting the first elections to the Legislative Assembly in a self-governing Singapore. This, of course, is a blow at the PAP which is the only party which has members detained under the Public Security Ordinance. Lee Kuan Yew has, however, countered this by saying that if the new Legislative Assembly is dissolved within a short time, there is nothing to stop political detainees from taking part in the second general elections.

The next step after internal self-government is to press for complete independence, with Singapore assuming responsibility for external affairs and defence: then comes the march towards a merger between Singapore and the Federation of Malaya, with perhaps an amalgamation later on with the territories of

Sarawak, North Borneo, and Brunei. The latter would be thrown in as a sop to persistent Malay misgivings in the Federation to a merger with Singapore. The Malays have always been wary of upsetting the racial balance in Malaya by allowing the large unpredictable Chinese population of Singapore to jump on to the political scales.

You do not have to scratch very far below the surface in Singapore today to find a widespread feeling both inside and outside Government circles that there is a growing connection between local politics and the civil service. The City Council is a good example of this where it is generally felt, rightly or wrongly, that the PAP dominated Council tends to interfere unduly in the day-to-day administration at City Hall. Many candidates for appointment to the Public Service have also been heard to remark that their chances would be better if they belonged to one or other of the political parties in power. The Public Services Commission is an independent body appointed by the Governor to select candidates for senior appointments in the Public Service, yet many candidates object to the way in which applications for appointments are often referred in the first place by the Public Services Commission to the Head of the Government Department concerned for the latter to prepare a "short-list" of candidates to be called for interview by the Public Services Commission. They feel that this practice is open to abuse, and that it is undesirable to allow any person outside the Public Services Commission to have a say in the selection of candidates, even to the extent of narrowing down a list of candidates for interview.

This feeling grows with the Malayanisation of the Public Service and the decrease in the number of expatriate European officers serving in the administration. The latest example of this state of mind concerns Asian Police Inspectors. A new Police Bill has recently been introduced seeking to empower the Commissioner of Police to dismiss any Inspector without reference to higher authority. Many Asian Inspectors now feel that as long as there is an expatriate Commissioner of Police they will get a fair and unbiased deal, but as soon as a local man is appointed to this post the powers delegated to him under the new Police Bill may be misused.

The Ministry of Education has just completed a poll on the views of parents of students regarding the type of religious or ethical instruction they would like their children to receive in Chinese and English schools. The answers revealed that the majority want their children to have Buddhist instruction. The next largest number want their children to be given instruction in ethics. It is probably not an over-exaggeration to say that only five percent of the total population of about 1,300,000 people of all races living in Singapore are Christian.

Australia

Asia Policy

From Charles Meeking

(EASTERN WORLD Canberra Correspondent)

Although few Australians, even today, take the trouble to think deeply about the implications for their own country of the ferment in Asia, it is a curious fact of political life that the Menzies Government is likely to retain office later this year because of the policy of the Labour Opposition on a major aspect of Asian relations.

The Menzies Government, now in office for almost nine years, has followed the United States lead in refusing, as yet, to recognise mainland China. The policy of the Labour Opposition, led by Dr. Evatt, favours recognition. This stand has been principally responsible for the split in the Labour ranks which has led to the formation of the Democratic Labour Party. This

latter group refuses to accept Labour policy on this and other points, it is determined to see Dr. Evatt ousted from leadership, and it will give its preferences, under the preferential voting system, to Government candidates.

This makes it practically certain that the Government will be returned to office. It also makes it likely that Dr. Evatt, after his fourth defeat, will accept the inevitable and resign as leader. Whether, in that event, the Labour split will be healed, is conjecture. Even if it is, it will be some years before the party will be strong enough to seriously challenge the Liberal-Country Party coalition.

In the meantime the Democratic Labour Party, with little or no chance of getting any seats in the House of Representatives, could gain one or two seats in the Senate under the involved voting system for that "States" House—and perhaps hold the balance of power. This prospect, either in 1959 or 1962, is the major political dilemma of the Government parties.

There is no indication as yet that policies on Asia (except, perhaps, some aspects of trade) will be issues in the forthcoming election campaign. Development and the economic position appear at present to be the likely subjects, especially as a tax-lowering budget is expected within a few weeks. Yet there are plenty of reminders, if they are heeded, that Asia will offer Australia's major problems during the three-years' life of the new Parliament.

Influential voices, including Sir Ian Clunies Ross and Professor Douglas Copland, have been urging a major expansion of Australian contribution to the Colombo Plan. Other voices, including Sir Ian's, have been advocating modification of the rigid immigration policy which excludes Asians from permanent residence. There are references to the Japanese programme of trade expansion in Asia. There are frequent comments, many American-inspired, about the gloomy economic and political situation in Indonesia—although fantastically few Australians take the trouble to ascertain for themselves the true facts and trends in this crucial area. There are also, of course, some warnings about the effects of the Middle East uncertainties on Australian security and trade. There are occasional references to Malaya, and some gloomy predictions that the use of the Singapore base will be lost within a few years—a possibility that many Australians appear to accept as inevitable for the second time in their lifetimes.

All these are subjects on which Australians should be better informed by their leaders and by their own efforts to reach understanding. They are all certain to affect the lives of all Australians. They have a bearing on the policies of immigration, of development, of defence and of trade and industrial expansion: Some day someone will attempt to put the pattern in true perspective, so that Australians will see themselves, not as sitting smugly on a high living standard in a roomy continent, but as confronted with challenges and responsibilities vis-a-vis their populous neighbours which may involve the nation's life or death and which will certainly mean drastic and probably painful adjustments of the national outlook.

Presentation of these views will be unpalatable politically. It will demand statesmanship in place of political expediency.

United States

Relations with China

From David C. Williams

(EASTERN WORLD Washington Correspondent)

For the first time, a major American political organisation has come out publicly in favour of the immediate opening of diplomatic negotiations leading to American recognition of

Communist China. This action was taken by the annual conference of Americans for Democratic Action, a leading progressive organisation roughly equivalent to the British Fabian Society, with which a number of prominent Democratic political figures, including Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Senators Morse, Humphrey, and Clark, are identified.

ADA has long favoured a UN trusteeship for Formosa, with the opportunity for the Formosan people, by plebiscite or through a constituent assembly, to determine their own future. And it has stated that, if the Peking Government accepts such a settlement, the way would be opened for its seating in the UN. But ADA had hitherto been silent on the question of recognition. The action was not unanimous, and a number of members and former members have published a letter of vigorous protest. Senator Douglas, long a leading member of ADA, is strongly opposed both to the recognition of Communist China and its seating in the UN. But there is no doubt that the action is approved by the overwhelming majority of members.

Editorial reaction has been mixed. Some newspapers have used the action as another excuse to attack ADA, which they charge to be a radical group which dominates the Democratic Party. Others, however, have used it as an opportunity to weigh the pros and cons of US recognition of the Peking Government. Even before the ADA action, some leading politicians had been hinting at the need to review America's position towards Communist China. Senator Humphrey, for instance, had several times spoken of the need to include China in any agreement dealing with the suspension of thermo-nuclear tests—pointing out that, otherwise, the agreement would not be enforceable, since tests of Soviet bombs could continue in China.

It has recently become known that the Administration will not resist the inclusion of Chinese experts in the committee which is to be set up to propose technical measures for the enforcement of an agreed suspension of tests. The President himself, according to the semi-official account of his Administration ("Eisenhower—The Inside Story," by Robert G. Donovan) is known to believe that the prolonged non-recognition of China may not be in the interest of the United States. Indeed, he is quoted as noting that there may be great changes in national attitudes towards a former enemy, citing as an example the drastic re-orientation of American relations with Germany.

Mr. Dulles himself, in the first edition of his book, "War or Peace," seemed favourably inclined towards the admission of Communist China to the United Nations, although he has, in a more recent edition, disavowed these earlier views. It will be interesting to see whether the American position with respect to Quemoy and Matsu, the islands just off the coast of mainland China now held by the Chinese Nationalists, will change. The United States has never said definitely whether or not it will support the Nationalists in the occupation of these islands, if a serious effort should be made by the Chinese Communists to take them over. ADA has from the beginning vigorously criticised the ambiguity of the American position, and has urged that any American commitment to the Nationalist occupation of these islands be plainly and openly repudiated.

On the last occasion when the Communists opened a serious bombardment of the Nationalist position on these islands, some high figures in the Administration advocated American action against the Chinese Communists. But President Eisenhower, with his characteristic prudence, overruled them.

It seems likely that America will insist, as a minimum, on Communist Chinese acceptance, at least *de facto* if not *de jure*, of Formosan self-determination. The Americans are well aware that Chiang Kai-shek will not live for ever, and they are reluctant to risk the future of Formosa to the unpredictable whims of whoever may succeed him. But they are confident that, given a free choice, the Formosans will not opt for incorporation within China—and they believe that the right of national self-determination gives them a firm foundation for the policy of letting the Formosan people make their own choice.



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Recent Books

Chanakya and the Arthashastra by SOMNATH DHAR
(Bangalore: Indian Institute of World Culture, Rs.1.50)

Chanakya, sometimes called the Indian Machiavelli although he lived some fifteen centuries earlier, was a contemporary of Alexander the Great, teacher and the equivalent to prime minister to the Emperor Chandragupta Maurya. The latter, aided by the brilliant diplomacy of his mentor, together with his own military prowess, defeated Alexander's general Seleukos Nikator, and created for the first time in its history a united state of India stretching from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, and in the north to Kabul. Only the southern tip remained outside. Chandragupta thus laid the basis for his better known grandson Asoka and the great empires to follow.

"But for Chanakya and Chandragupta," writes the author of this brief treatise, "India might well have split into national linguistic states like those of Europe. The Empire of the Moguls, the Confederacy of the Mahrattas, the British Empire followed by the Indian Republic of today can be said to be the lineal descendants of the unified State established by these two great figures of Indian history."

Born in the fourth century BC, Chanakya wrote his *Arthashastra* between 321 and 300 BC. It is divided into fifteen great *adhikaranas*, or books, which deal with the whole vast range of political theory and practice as it was then conceived, the sixth and seventh books being possibly of the greatest interest to modern minds, dealing as they do with such subjects as the "seven elements" of politics—king, ministers, land, fort, treasury, army and ally—and the formal analysis of inter-state relations. They deal also with the relations of peace and war, neutrality, alliance, division of forces, and the like, all of which has a terrifyingly modern ring. Other books deal with the upbringing of a king, his duties and his problems, devoting also a considerable amount of attention to the training of his spies, who seem to have been at least as important an integer in the state policy of those days as they are today.

But the author stresses above all the high moral precepts governing Chanakya's thinking, his emphasis on peaceful means of negotiation with other countries, and his magnanimity towards defeated enemies, whom he advocates making into friends and allies. Mr. Dhar shows how deeply Chanakya's work has influenced Mr. Nehru, and with what fascination the latter in his own book *Discovery of India* and other works keeps returning to him. The western reader of this short paper—originally read at a meeting of the London branch of the Indian Institute of World Culture—can also feel through its scholarly and undramatic style the fascination of the subject. His appetite for more information is whetted, and it is to be hoped that the Institute and the India Government will support the publication of more detailed information about the great wealth of India's cultural traditions, which are still largely a closed book to the western public.

PAULA WIKING



Han Suyin in Nepal

The Mountain is Young by HAN SUYIN (Cape, 18s.)

In 1956 Miss Han Suyin journeyed to Nepal to attend the Coronation of King Mahendra, and her new book is set in that country and at that time.

What a brilliant tapestry of that Shangri-la comes out of her pages; the valley of Katmandu is there for us to see, created in glowing prose. Against this background the figures on the tapestry seem strangely flat. Perhaps Miss Han Suyin cares too much that we should care; too close to her subject, the objective view is lacking. The demon that drives her heroine, Ann Ford; a writer, and changes and involves her among the valley residents and transients, should involve us too. She made us care in *A Many Splendoured Thing* and participate in *And The Rain My Drink*, but in this, one can only admire. With the exception of two characters — John the husband, and Isobel, the head of the Institute, who are viewed with rare compassion — the people here live in a vacuum which our interest cannot penetrate.

But characters apart, in *The Mountain is Young* Miss Han Suyin takes us on a journey of delight; and for this visit to the lovely, "lingamorous" land of Nepal alone, this is a book not to borrow, but to buy.

B.M.E.

Classic Cooking from India by DHARAM JIT SINGH
(Arco Publications, 21s.)

This cookery book is designed for the American housewife, who, surfeited with gadgets and tinned, pre-cooked and deep-frozen foods, may well go into ecstasies over these authentic and time-consuming recipes, all of which call for loving and careful preparation. As one well acquainted with Indian food, this reviewer admits to having had a mouth-watering session with the book, which is well written, the directions being clear and simple, and the recipes interlarded with entertaining tales from Indian folklore spiced with the author's own gentle meditations. A good example of his lyrical approach to the art of preparing food is this: "Once I knew a cook in India who could carve a braised

grouse and make it seem like plucking a delicate spray of flowers."

Though one doubts whether the ordinary housewife would find many of the recipes of practical assistance in her catering, it will appeal to the gourmet and the connoisseur of fine food, and should be kept in mind as a most acceptable Christmas gift. P.W.

Hokkaido by F. C. JONES (Oxford University Press, 21s.)

After an introductory historical survey of Hokkaido's development from Ainu refuge to a potential industrial hub today, Mr. Jones discusses the several aspects of its resources—the fisheries (now severely handicapped by Russian proximity and consequent over-fishing of the grounds that remain), its coal, potentially the largest field in Japan, its nascent industries and its lands, better suited, on the whole, to larger holdings and to dairy or stock farming than to the small holdings and the ubiquitous rice of Japan's other islands.

Today, Hokkaido constitutes slightly less than a quarter of the remnants of the Japanese empire. It was included as an integral part of the ambitious development plan which hoped for a ten million population by 1962 and expected to lay the foundations for a large industrial expansion. But results lag sadly behind the plan, primarily because of a drastic lack of funds which the planners seem to have held in carefree disregard, and the population has crept up to just half the figure aimed at in four years time. The author calculates that Hokkaido's agricultural and industrial resources will be just about adequate to support the projected ten million, though, unless there is to be very considerable industrial expansion, not much beyond that figure can be maintained. Even then, Hokkaido is not the all-healing panacea of Japan's population pestilence, for the draining off of this fairly insignificant number from Honshu is not the simple solution of the problem—they still have to be fed in their new, and distant, home which is not self-supporting.

This book is a mine of statistical information, well presented and capably interpreted. There are, too, the less formal details: the traveller should not go north of Sapporo with merely travellers' cheques, and Sapporo's draught beer lives up to its reputation. Mr. Jones has every right to feel that this venture "off his usual beat," as he calls it in his preface, has been worth-while. If he still has the urge to wander, a companion volume on Shikoku or Kyushu would be both welcome and valuable. G. BOWNAS

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PITMAN

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Mao's China by YGAEL GLUCKSTEIN (*Allen and Unwin, 40s.*)

Mr. Gluckstein has analysed the framework of the new Chinese regime with scholarly skill, scrutinised its social, political and economic foundations under the microscope and submitted its body to a thorough clinical examination. It is doubtful whether such wealth of facts and figures has been amassed in any other scientific study on this subject and utilised with the same intelligence and insight as has been done here. Precise and to the point, the book also explains China's relationship with Russia, Outer Mongolia and North Korea. Based mainly on official documents, bulletins, speeches and statements of the Chinese leaders and reports and articles from the Communist press, the author's comments do not lose themselves in emotional propaganda but remain factual throughout. Mr. Gluckstein's opinions, therefore — whether one agrees with all his conclusions or not — are important, for he fairly and dispassionately discusses facts without attempting to mould them to suit anyone's purpose. It is, indeed, its impartiality in addition to its abundance of material that makes Mr. Gluckstein's book the fundamental work it is.

H.C.T.

Major Topics on China and Japan edited by HAROLD C. HINTON and MARIUS B. JANSEN (*New York: Institute of Pacific Relations*)

This "handbook for teachers" is the outcome of reports and discussions between Far Eastern specialists and a group of experienced teachers in the Harvard Summer Schools of 1955-56. Issued by the IPR as a syllabus and study guide, this work is a true find for teacher and student alike. In concise chapters, which manage to retain their serious value despite their brevity, every imaginable aspect of the two countries is listed and explained. From basic geographical to historical and sociological data, from definitions of political movements to art and trade, this handbook provides information which will make it a "bible" for everyone enquiring into the affairs of China and Japan. A well-compiled bibliography rounds up this valuable work.

G. ANDERSON

Treasure Seeker in China by ORVAR KARLBECK (*Cresset, 21s.*)

During the twenty years he was building railways in China, Mr. Karlbeck took great interest in the archaeological finds unearthed during the laying of the tracks. He eventually became such an authority in that field that, upon his return to his native Sweden in 1926, he was commissioned to revisit China in order to buy art treasures there for museums and private collectors. The book is not a treatise on Chinese art, but a delightful tale of the author's numerous buying trips up to 1935. Based on his knowledge of China and his love of the country, his account is interesting, vivid and humorous and holds the reader from cover to cover.

F.E.

The Enemy in the Blanket by ANTHONY BURGESS (*Heinemann, 15s.*)

This continuation of *Time for a Tiger* which has established the author as a penetrating observer of contemporary Malayan atmosphere, is not the "extremely funny book" described on the dust jacket. Though using the style of the cartoonist, Mr. Burgess conveys a mixture of despair

and fatalism in drawing the characters of this realistic farce. He has, by this method of realistic witticism, found the ideal commentary on the Malayan scene of today. The story, though typical of the social changes going on in that country as a consequence of the exit of the British, is only a framework for the masterly sketching of portraits. Just because of their caricaturistic treatment, they stress the essential points which cause not only amusement, but nostalgia and despair in the hearts of all who love Malaya.

J.D.

Return to China by JAMES BERTRAM (*Heinemann, 25s.*)

This light-hearted, pleasant chronicle of the experiences of a journey to China by a group of New Zealanders, has been written with much enthusiasm and love for the Chinese. It does not claim to be more than one of those travelogues—with all its small talk, gossip and other characteristics—but Mr. Bertram, who had spent ten years in China up to 1946, is able to let us have many more interesting glimpses of China through his experienced eyes than we would have been given by a novice. Most interesting also is his description of the difficulties under which the group was formed and departed for the trip. Mr. Bertram readily admits his friendly bias for China and the Chinese—though not for Communism—and professes to the "perhaps ineffectual" creed of liberal humanism. His sincere belief in the necessity of establishing greater understanding and cordial international ties, has certainly been fostered by his informative report.

H.C.T.

Secret Lands Where Women Reign by GABRIELLE BERTRAND (*Robert Hale, 21s.*)

For almost two years the writer lived among the hill peoples of northern Assam—a part of India's troubled North-East Frontier Agency. This book of her experiences reads like a travelogue, but it contains a great amount of solid information on the beliefs, habits and taboos of the tribal people. It is the women who are the effective heads of the communities, a fact which shows itself in their customs. The journey was an adventurous undertaking, for others in recent times had perished at the hands of the tribes in an endeavour to uncover some of the secrets of tribal customs. It is a book well worth reading, especially for those who do not find it tedious to follow another's experiences step by step.

C.J.W.

A Treasury of Asian Literature edited by JOHN D. YOHANNAN (*Phoenix House, 30s.*)

The title of this anthology is aptly chosen, for it is indeed a treasure trove of the stories, dramas, songs and scriptures which form the literary gems of Arabia, Iran, India, China and Japan. By restricting himself to these territories, Mr. Yohannan has been able to devote adequate space to the most typical and outstanding works. The Indian drama "Sakuntala" by Kalidasa from the 5th century, and the Japanese *No* play "Atsumori" by Motokiyo from the 14th century, are given in full, and extracts from poems, and the Buddhist, Hindu and Mohammedan scriptures are generous and well chosen. Careful introductions to each piece convey sufficient information, yet stimulate the desire to read more of the sampled literature. The best available translations have been used, and make this book both pleasurable and informative.

D. MORGAN

It Began in Singapore by G. P. WILLIS and MICHAEL P. O'CONNOR (*Robert Hale, 15s.*)

Politically, this book does not claim prominence. But the authors, in describing at least some of the conditions which drove young Chinese into the Malayan jungle, have produced a thrilling background to the human side of that strange internal war which still rages in the Federation.

The Footprint of the Buddha by E. F. C. LUDOWYK (*Allen & Unwin, 50s.*)

Perhaps one of the most endearing qualities of the Ceylonese is their lack of sense of organisation. Otherwise they would have spoilt their country long ago by tens of thousands of tourists who would flock from all corners of the world to admire its beauty and its unique treasures.

However, if books like the one by Mr. Ludowyk begin to appear, one feels that the time is near when Ceylon's position as the gem of the Indian Ocean will become increasingly known. Taking its title from the legendary footprint of the Buddha on Adam's Peak, a Ceylonese mountain, it proceeds to describe the impact Buddhism has made on this lovely island, the art treasures it created and the part it played in shaping its character and history. Beautifully illustrated with excellent photographs of the frescoes, temples and sculptures of the ancient capitals of Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa which until recently had slept for centuries under the dense growth of the jungle, as well as of many other places of exquisite beauty, this book is a combination of artistic and intellectual delight.

H.T.

THE EASTERN STUDENT IN BRITAIN

By Susan Lester

"Is it necessary to smoke to keep warm?"

"Are churches common in England?"

"How do I know the difference between a tip and a bribe?"

"Do the English eat bones?"

THESE are just some of the questions raised by tomorrow's lawyers, doctors, nurses, engineers, teachers and a phalanx of other professional people, who at present make up a body of about 22,000 overseas students in Britain. This figure, incidentally, relates only to British Colonial territories, the Indian sub-continent and the Middle and Far East. Their numbers rise yearly and none more steeply than students from India and the Far Eastern countries of Hong Kong, Singapore, Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo.

Although it would be an easy matter for a casual observer to discover the presence of these students in Britain, the vast network of organisations which exist to serve their interests—and ultimately, the interests of their country, is not immediately apparent, despite the range and depth of its work and the fact that almost any collective group of individuals, whatever their purpose, may be liable for help.

Even in these days of Government scholarships and sponsorship by industrial firms, the largest number of students who come to Britain from the East, do so privately. Most of them expect to be away from home for at least a year and probably longer.

Most eastern students can attain their General Certificate of Education standard in their own countries; the West Indian territories are the only major group of countries who still find it necessary to send students to Britain solely for that purpose. Beyond this status, about one third of the students, including those from the East, attend universities and university colleges and the remainder is absorbed into nursing, law, engineering, medicine, teacher training, the arts, economics, general science, secretarial work, architecture, accountancy, agriculture, dentistry, commerce, arts and crafts, domestic science, surveying, pharmacy, railway training, printing, building, radiography, public administration, social science, music, dressmaking, veterinary science, forestry, optics, postal training, tailoring and bootmaking. In short, hardly a facet of modern life and occupation is not explored.

To our casual observer, the academic problems which face both the students and those whose task it is to administer their affairs, would appear to submerge any other considerations. In actual practice, the business of bringing students from so many widespread and widely differing lands and finding them places of study in Britain, is the most straightforward side of the whole student question.

The usual procedure for a student wishing to study in the UK

is to consult his local director of education and to satisfy the Student Advisory Committee in his own country as to his qualifications and intentions. Applications can then be made for him (or her) to the Colonial Office in London for general advice, assistance, and in the case of a prospective university student, the finding of a place. More and more territories today, though, are establishing their own students' units in London, which have absorbed most of the work hitherto undertaken by the Colonial Office, with the exception of university placing. Their function is a common one, but as bodies maintained by their own Governments, they serve the particular needs of their own students. The bulk of their work relates to post-graduates engaged on research courses and students below university level. It is also the task of the student unit to administer grants, attend to social problems, cases of illness and generally maintain a close contact with the student—in *loco parentis*—from the moment he arrives in Britain until his departure. Sometimes a student unit forms part of other offices of a particular country; sometimes it is a building in its own right. The Hong Kong Students' Office, for instance, is part of Hong Kong House, now open as a hostel and social centre for Hong Kong students. The premises were purchased by the Government of Hong Kong, who also arranged for extensive repairs and alterations. In 1956 a similar building for Pakistan students was opened by the Pakistan Prime Minister.

The Colonial Office and students' units apart, the myriad and manifold problems which may or may not spring directly from the student's academic life can loosely be termed as "social"; they are the concern of more organisations than there are words available to describe, but which broadly embrace embassies, legations, High Commissions, universities and university college authorities, the British Council, national and local students' units, clubs and societies of all sorts and sizes, churches, missionary societies, trade unions, East and West Friendship Council, Rotary Clubs, the Victoria League, the Overseas League, political organisations, the World University Service, London House—right on to individual British families who want to give a student the benefit of their home life.

These organisations are not concerned that they may overlap in their efforts; rather, they are anxious to bridge every gap in the sphere of social and extra-mural activities of the student's life. It is within this world of diverse activity that an outsider would realise that the most difficult aspects of the student's stay in Britain are not necessarily academic. The questions which opened this article indicate, if on an elementary level, the degree of uncertainty, even ignorance, with which some students come to Britain. They are among strangers, who probably feel the same toward them as they to the British; there may be possible language

difficulties to combat, racial customs and an array of problems which stem from the greatest evil of them all—loneliness.

The task of these voluntary organisations who work, for the most part, outside the academic realm, is to smooth the background and to induce the student to overcome the stumbling blocks which stand to mar his academic progress, with unhappy consequences both in Britain and at home. These bodies must provide the facilities to help him to understand Britain and her inhabitants, his fellow students and their background, which is as different to his as it is to the British. Above all they try to prevent him from building a wall around himself. For apart from his academic equipment, the student must return home a person of wide sympathies and broad understanding.

The British Council, outstanding amongst the long list of societies mentioned, take the initial step in helping nearly all students coming to Britain. Provided that their help has been enlisted by the Colonial Office or the Student Unit of a particular country, the British Council will ensure that an officer meets every new arrival, whether at sea, air, road or rail terminus. The student is settled in temporary accommodation to complete the first stages of his arrival; September and October are the peak in-take periods, and as soon as possible after arrival, residential introduction courses are arranged. Later, the student is found permanent accommodation. A register is kept of over 6,800 recommended addresses where students will be welcomed and the British Council also maintains three London hostels, one in Leeds, and one in Edinburgh. Another, non-residential London centre, offers social facilities for students of all nationalities and there are day, week-end and vacation courses arranged on all topics all over Britain. Like the Student Unit and the Colonial Office, the British Council will maintain contact, through its officers in all parts of the country, with every student who has ever been on its books.

The biggest residence of its kind in the world to accommodate Commonwealth students is London House and its extramural programme of activities would be the envy of any English

student. Theatre and back-stage visits are arranged, coach tours to places of historic interest or scenic beauty, visits to industrial centres and works, sporting events, newspaper offices, Parliament—in other words, a broad general background into the workings of English social, political, industrial and cultural life.

Perhaps Indian students are, by virtue of their large numbers, the most fortunate in London in their own particular facilities. There are two Indian students Bureaux in London where male students can stay for three months at an all-in cost of £3.10.0 a week. A similar bureau exists for women students and as well as this, there is the Indian YMCA hostel, which is exemplary in its conditions. This establishment is sustained financially by British and Indian firms, the Government and states of India, and by generous individuals. Run on the lines of a university residence, the cost to students is 4½ guineas a week. Domestic facilities are from both East and West and 55 men can be accommodated at once. Most of these are post-graduates and all of them are new arrivals, whose stay here has to be limited to six months. The Indian Government also maintains two more London hostels, one each for men and women.

India ties with Nigeria for the highest proportion of the 300 members of the Commonwealth Students' Club, another extramural society for Commonwealth Students attached to the Commonwealth Institute in London.

While these features of a student's life may appear to favour those whose studies keep them in London, it should be stressed that every effort is made to see that the student in the provinces has access to as much of this sort of background life as possible. Many of the activities are emulated throughout the country and a student often has access to an aspect of British life, outside London, that would not be possible if he were staying in the city. Unknowingly, too, the student brings a breath of his native civilisation, his outlook and his way of life to the people of the British Isles, who, likewise, would not, were it not for his presence, have this privilege.

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Economics and Trade

INDIA'S STEEL PROJECTS

INDIA'S present financial difficulties have given rise to a new outburst of criticism against the industrialisation policy of India and of other underdeveloped countries. The attacks repeat the following, much used arguments:

- (a) the industrialisation of an underdeveloped country at a "great" speed makes that country insolvent. On top of the required large outlay of foreign exchange for the industrialisation itself, the newly created industries will require additional imports of raw materials, semi-manufactured products and other goods, and thus, even in the long run, the newly industrialised country will not save foreign exchange by reducing its imports but will be compelled to increase its import bill,
- (b) the newly established industries are bound to work more uneconomically than their former foreign suppliers, and will be able to compete with imported goods only by the erection of protectionist tariffs, which would be harmful to the national economy of the underdeveloped country concerned as well as to the pattern of the international trade on which its economy was based in the past.

Both contentions are used by the same people despite the controversial character of these two sets of arguments on the future foreign trade of countries which have embarked on industrialisation. History has proved again and again that the industrialisation of a country has led to a greater (and not smaller) exchange of goods with other countries. While the type of goods traded may have changed, the total volume in international trade has been increased. On the question of uneconomical production in newly industrialised countries, history shows that industries which have developed in "new" countries have not only been able to sell their products in their home market (behind the wall of protectionist tariffs), but have penetrated in the international markets, including the countries of the "old" industries. The underlying idea of industrialisation of underdeveloped countries is to achieve an increased national wealth by utilising idle resources (natural and human) and by a diversification of the national economy (particularly as the dependence on a few main products has proved to be disastrous on many occasions in the past). As the economy of the various world regions is at present more interwoven than ever before, the growing of national wealth (and the utilisation of resources which have remained idle up till now) in areas of large populations can be only of the greatest benefit to the entire world economy.

One may argue about the wisdom and timing of some individual development projects (everyone acquainted with economic history knows of many mistakes made in this respect in planned and unplanned economies alike), but the general principle of industrialisation of underdeveloped countries is in itself correct and sound, and its execution will bring beneficial results to the countries concerned and to international economy.

In the case of India, the development of the steel industry occupies a prominent position, and about 5,000 million Rs., or about one-ninth of the Second Five-Year Plan's total investment has been earmarked for it (4,000 million Rs. for the public sector, and 1,000 million Rs. for the private sector). The merits

of this high investment in this basic industry can be seen from the comparison that while in 1955 per capita steel consumption in India amounted to 7.4 Kg.—the figure for the UK was 367 Kg. and that for the US 620 Kg.—India possesses rich resources of iron ore and coal in localities favouring their exploitation. Very large amounts of foreign exchange have been spent by India on imported steel, and on the question of cost of production a recent ILO report (Iron and Steel Committee, Sixth Session, 1957) stresses the fact that in India imported steel costs more than domestic steel, and that Indian steel is reputed to be one of the cheapest steels in the world. The price of steel is mainly determined by the cost of raw materials (the location of raw material resources near to the plant considerably reduces the cost) and the technological structure of the plant. The steel industry is capital-intensive and not labour-intensive. The greatest economies in production are realised by large, fully integrated plants, i.e. plants which carry out all the operations from the reduction of iron ore in blast furnaces, the manufacture of steel ingots from the resulting pig iron and the further refinement of steel ingots into semi-finished or finished products.

These considerations have led the Indian Government to the

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decision to build during the Second Five-Year Plan three new one million ton steel plants in the public sector. These integrated plants should be able to work very economically and to constitute an important step in the economic development of the country. An important aspect also is that these three plants will give between them direct employment to some 22,000 workers of all grades. In addition they will create large employment facilities for industries directly and indirectly connected with their development.

In the private sector the Tata Iron and Steel Company's plant will raise the output from approximately 900,000 tons to 2 million tons per annum (this Company has great experience in steel industry and rolled its first ingot in 1912). Capacity of the Indian Iron and Steel Company's two plants is to be enlarged from approximately 500,000 tons of crude steel to 900,000 tons per annum. The smaller Mysore Iron and Steel Works is to be expanded from a capacity of about 30,000 tons

per annum to 100,000 tons per annum. The soundness of the development of India's steel industry was recognised by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development which has granted loans to the Tata Company and to the Indian Iron and Steel Company.

While the building of the new steel plants imposes temporary financial burdens on the national economy of India, the long-term benefits of these outlays will outweigh the present difficulties.

ROURKELA PROGRESS

A group of West German civil engineering firms has been entrusted with the designing, planning and consulting work in connection with building of the main parts of the Rourkela steel plant in India. The entire concrete, steel-concrete, brick-laying and excavation operations related to the hot and cold rolling mills, steelwork, coal utilisation plant, gas purification, cooling towers and water supply falls into the scope of this group's designing activities. The group consists of the following Western German firms: Hochtief A.G. (which acts on behalf of the group), Gruen & Bilfinger A.G., Philipp Holzmann A.G., and Siemens Bau-Union A.G., and has formed CECW (Consulting Engineers of Civil Works Rourkela). In addition, Hochtief A.G., in cooperation with Gammon India Private Ltd., secured from the Hindustan Steel Private Ltd. the contract to execute the construction work for the hot and cold rolling mill. This contract entails the foundations of the rolling mill's hall which is nearly 3,000ft. long and about 1,000ft. wide, the erection of the foundations of the rolling mill and installations, brick-laying for the hall as well as all other concrete, steel-concrete and bricklaying work. This work entails the excavation of over 650,000 cu. yds. of earth and rock, and more than 390,000 cu. yds. of bricklaying work. The contract is to the value of 78 million Rs., and is to be completed by 30 September 1960, i.e. after three years' work.

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CHINA'S 500 MILLION PEASANTS

CHINESE authorities admit frankly the setbacks which occurred in the country's agriculture last year, when the total acreage sown to food crops decreased by about 9 million acres (55 million mou) compared with 1956. Measures to improve the situation were adopted last September and the latest reports indicate that this spring the area sown to food crops is by 13½ million acres (80 million mou) greater than that of 1957 and by about 4½ million acres greater than that of 1956. It is expected that the 1958 harvest—provided that no serious floods or droughts will occur—is to be 10-20 percent higher.

The Chinese speak of a U-shaped development in agricultural production in the 3 years since the winter of 1955, namely, a high at the beginning and at the end, with a low in the middle. In 1956, China's agriculture—despite rather serious natural calamities throughout the country—produced 7.5 million tons of food crops more than in the good agricultural year of 1955. 1957 represented a low, but from October 1957 to the end of April 1958, "a big leap forward took shape on the front of agricultural production" (Tan Chen-lin's report on the second revised draft of the 1956 to 1957 programme for agricultural development, presented to the National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party on May 17, 1958).

The importance of China's agriculture and its development to the entire political and economic life of the country can be best illustrated by the fact that about 85 percent of the total population of 600 millions are peasants. Liu Shao-chi stated in his speech to the National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party on May 5 that "without the rapid development of agriculture, there can be no rapid development of light and heavy industries, or of the national economy as a whole." In this speech he posed the question "Why is it that, to increase the speed of construction, industry and agriculture must be developed simultaneously?" and gave the following reply:

"This is because ours is a large agricultural country, and of our 600 million people, 500 million are peasants who constitute a most powerful force both in the revolutionary struggle and in the work of construction. Only by relying on this powerful ally and giving full play to the peasants' initiative and creativeness can the working class of our country achieve victory. The paramount importance of the peasantry as an ally is the same in the period of construction as it was in the period of revolution. Whenever political mistakes were made they invariably had something to do with this question. While giving priority to the growth of heavy industry, we must make great efforts to develop agriculture, which means to get the greatest domestic market in the world, to place immense orders for heavy and light industrial products, including farm machinery, chemical fertilisers . . . to mobilise the biggest labour force in the world to increase the production of foodstuffs . . . and the output of cotton and industrial crops . . ."

Two closely interrelated sets of problems on agricultural development, namely the short-term and long-term problems (one is tempted to call them problems of practice and theory), are dealt with simultaneously by the Chinese authorities. In the field of immediate development the achievements of the last seven months (October 1957 to the end of April 1958) are impressive:

As the result of new water conservancy projects built throughout the country the irrigated area is being increased by nearly 60 million acres, and additional 23 million acres receive improved irrigation facilities. Nearly 35 million acres of low-lying and easily waterlogged farmland and more than 16 million acres of hitherto unfertile land have been transformed, and nearly 50 million acres of land were afforested. A mass move-

ment to improve farm implements has been launched throughout the country. Larger stocks of locally produced fertilisers have been accumulated.

On the question of more long-term projects, the Chinese authorities have shown a great degree of flexibility, and the 1956-67 agricultural development programme, which was prepared in the winter of 1955, is now being amended—on the basis of experience gained in the meantime. On the question of mechanisation of China's agriculture it appears that semi-mechanisation and mechanisation are to be carried out step by step with the development of the country's agricultural machinery industry, augmented by imports of machinery.

The latest trend in the economic structure, namely the decentralisation and the emphasis on developing local industries, should be of great assistance to Chinese agriculture. Among interrelated factors between mechanisation of agriculture and development of local industries which are of greatest importance (even if they are not emphasised by Chinese authorities) are:

- (1) In a country of such a size as China, regional or local factories are more easily adaptable to produce equipment, particularly suitable for their area. In many cases they could also provide a better service in spare parts, etc.
- (2) China has entered the stage of a technological revolution. One of the main tasks facing the country in this connection is the raising of the technological standard of the population. The acquiring of higher technological and managerial skills on all levels will be accelerated by decentralisation and the intercourse between the newly developing local industries and the agriculture in process of mechanisation.
- (3) Mechanisation of agriculture releases a labour force in rural areas which may create a serious problem in a developing country. However, the newly established local factories would absorb the labour force thus released.

Liu Shao-chi in his speech (mentioned above) referred to the fact that not enough attention has been paid to the development of local industries in the past. He stated that "in improving the work of the state, the most important task at the moment is to find quick and correct solution to the problem of combining centralisation with decentralisation." In the process of decentralisation light industries will be handed over to the local authorities first, later heavy industries are to follow and only some special, key enterprises and enterprises of experimental nature are to remain under direct central control. In the rural areas the existing 700,000 agricultural cooperatives will have to display, together with other local organisations, initiative in developing the country's industries. A comparison of statements on decentralisation issued in the Soviet Union and China shows an interesting phenomenon, namely that while the economic development in the Soviet Union is higher than in China, the Chinese documents issued on this question are more profound than the corresponding Soviet documents.

There is little doubt that the new trend will benefit the speed of China's economic progress. The problem of developing China's agriculture is a tremendous task. Even if the Chinese can draw on the experience of other countries, including the Soviet Union, it is difficult to imagine that an uninterrupted upward trend would be possible, particularly as agricultural output always depends to a certain degree on natural conditions. But the main issue is that in the following "U-shape developments" the highs and the lows should be always higher than those of the preceding "U-shapes." On the basis of already achieved successes, the Chinese are confident of carrying out the programme.

West Germany's Trade with Asia

THE financial difficulties of many Asian countries and their shortage of foreign currency, have resulted in curtailments of their imports during the first quarter of 1958. Despite this, West Germany's total exports to Asia have continued to rise and reached the figure of DM1,020 million as against DM945 million during the first quarter of 1957. Considering the fact that West German global exports during this period increased by about 3 percent, the rise of exports to Asia amounting to over 7 percent is of special importance.

The following table shows a chequered development of West Germany's trade with the main countries of South-East Asia and the Far East:

	Imports		Exports	
	1958	1957	1958	1957
	(first quarter of the year)			
Afghanistan ...	8.7	10.8	4.1	4.0
Burma ...	3.6	5.3	9.0	14.0
British North Borneo ...	3.7	4.4	0.8	0.8
Ceylon ...	16.1	14.6	10.3	9.5
Formosa ...	4.0	2.5	6.8	4.8
China ...	59.8	44.5	50.7	41.5
Hong Kong ...	7.0	4.3	20.9	30.2
India ...	44.2	67.2	250.3	226.4
Portuguese India ...	25.0	1.6	2.7	1.5
Indonesia ...	64.5	98.8	56.0	85.0
Japan ...	42.6	44.8	96.7	144.4

Cambodia ...	0.6	0.9	3.5	0.9
Korea (South) ...	0.5	1.0	38.4	11.7
Laos ...	—	—	1.7	1.1
Malaya ...	46.5	73.6	16.4	37.1
Singapore ...	5.2	73.6	10.0	37.1
Pakistan ...	30.0	32.7	34.8	31.7
Philippines ...	55.4	53.3	24.9	24.3
Thailand ...	8.8	8.7	23.7	31.7
Viet Nam (South) ...	2.3	0.7	11.0	12.2

(all figures in million D. Marks)

The largest market in the East

India, by far the biggest market trading partner of West Germany in the East, increased her imports from that country by over 10 percent during the first quarter of 1958. On the other hand, Germany's imports from India show a considerable decline. During the whole of 1957, when Germany's total exports amounted to DM252 million, the main imports included manganese ore (DM46 million), iron scrap (DM26 million), coffee (DM38 million), tea (DM21 million), raw cotton (DM10 million), raw wool (DM9 million) and jute cloth (DM32 million). It appears that more efforts are necessary on both sides to narrow down the natural, but at present dangerously high, Indian trade deficit with Germany.

Another important question is the one of long-term credits for capital goods required for the execution of India's development projects. The recent agreement on the deferred payment

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terms for the steel works being built at Rourkela by the "Indien-gemeinschaft Krupp-Demag GmbH" has solved the problem concerning the deliveries by German firms in connection with this important project. But is it enough? There are at present many openings for German exports—outside the Rourkela project—which, however, can only be finalised on a basis of long term credits. New financial arrangements will have to be made to continue the flow of German goods to India at the rate of DM80-100 million monthly with possibilities of further increases, particularly concerning capital goods and chemicals. Some German businessmen even believe that the economic development of India and other underdeveloped countries may be regarded as the best safety valve against economic recessions in the West. India's shortage of foreign exchange should be considered in this perspective. India, which has a sound economic basis, experiences financial difficulties mainly due to the fact that she has embarked on a large scale development programme which is of vital importance from the economic, political and human point of view. With her technological potential, West Germany can play an important part in India's economic progress, especially as she is in the position of having an under-capitalised economy while being simultaneously in a strong cash position. The degree to which Germany will be prepared to use her existing financial assets to finance German exports to India, may be of the greatest influence on the development of future German-Indian economic relations.

West German-Japanese Trade Talks

Talks on a new trade agreement between Japan and West Germany are to start shortly. The Japanese had cancelled the 1951 agreement and since 1 April, 1957, the trade between the two countries was conducted without a trade treaty being in force. It seemed for a time that this had suited both countries and the 1957 trade between the two countries was nearly doubled in value compared with that of 1956.



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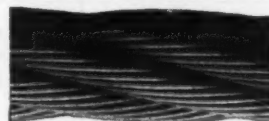
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The 1957 German imports from Japan were valued at nearly DM230 million and included whale oil (DM31 million), tinned fish (DM6 million), ferro-alloys (DM34 million), nickel and alloys (DM32 million), synthetic fibre cloth (DM31 million), cotton cloth (DM22 million).

West Germany has gradually liberalised import restrictions and only in some cases applies global import quotas to protect some of her industries e.g. sewing machine production. While Germany possesses a large optical industry, Japanese microscopes are nevertheless sold in Germany. During the first quarter of 1958 the imports from Japan remained at almost the same level as during the corresponding period of 1957.

West German exports to Japan which were approximately double the value of German imports from Japan, amounted to nearly DM470 million in 1957 and included hops (DM12 mil-

lion), iron scrap (DM12 million), chemical fertilisers (DM19 million), tar dyes (DM27 million), steel tubes (DM15 million), structural steel (DM39 million), iron and steel sheet and plates (DM24 million), copper products (DM45 million), machine tools (DM64 million), textile and leather machinery (DM21 million), electrotechnical products (DM11 million) and pharmaceutical products (DM13 million). During the first quarter of 1958 the West German exports to Japan dropped by about one-third as against the corresponding period of 1957. This decrease was due to import restrictions imposed by the Japanese authorities because of shortage of foreign exchange. There are indications, however, that the more favourable trade trend during the last few months is to continue and that it may lead to a relaxation of import restrictions, in which case Japanese imports would increase again in the latter part of this year.

JAPAN - KOREA TRADE RELATIONS

By **T. F. M. Adams (Tokyo)**

THE progress of trade between Japan and South Korea has inevitably been almost totally influenced by the attitude of Korea, and particularly of Syngman Rhee, towards Japan. The resentments that exist and the points of disagreement are further irritated by the Korean feeling that Japan's postwar recovery has been achieved greatly at Korea's expense, particularly as Japan made substantial profits during the Korean hostilities while Korea suffered devastation.

Syngman Rhee epitomises all the animosities of the Koreans in his bitter dislike and profound distrust of Japan's motives, and this attitude blinds him to the otherwise obvious economic benefits which could accrue from normal and friendly trade relations between the two countries. However, now that negotiations are once again in progress there is some hope that, at least in the matter of trade, a *modus operandi* will be found.

After the second World War Korea was divided into



Trade with the East

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North Korea with large mineral resources, electric power and heavy industry; and South Korea (Republic of Korea—ROK) with some mineral, agricultural and marine products, but without other natural resources. South Korea's foreign trade has been basically unbalanced and as an aftermath of the Korean War this fact was further aggravated because of the destruction of what industrial plant existed, the consequent decrease of production, and the serious inflation which resulted. Thus the Republic of Korea had to depend almost entirely upon foreign aid—mainly from America. Economic aid from the US began in 1945 from US Army funds and has continued ever since through several agencies, reaching about \$700 million a year.

Trade between Japan and the ROK was started on the Open Account basis but because of the Korean War, the volume of the two-way trade decreased leaving about \$4,700,000 credit to Japan. However since August 18, 1955, because of the diplomatic impasse, economic relations ceased completely for some time and were not resumed until January 23, 1956. The first Japan-ROK Trade Agreement was made between GHQ, SCAP (the Japan Occupation authorities) and the South Korean Government in June 1950 and is still in theory alive. The trade plan called for exports from Japan of \$32 million a year, mainly textiles, paper, cement etc. and imports from ROK of \$16 million a year, consisting of manganese, zinc ore, fish, seaweed etc. with a "swing" limit of \$2 million. There were also cash transactions corresponding to the difference between imports and exports, and special procurement purchases by ICA (International Cooperation Administration) and JPA (Japan Procurement Agency) amounting to between \$20 million and \$30 million a year, but Korea refused to make ICA

purchases in Japan. During 1951-1952, the plan envisaged exports of \$10 million to \$20 million and imports of \$4 million to \$5 million but neither side reached the planned amounts.

In 1953 general diplomatic relations with the Republic deteriorated further. In January and again in June 1953, the Japanese Government decided to stop the import of marine products and anthracite coal from the Republic and for this reason, the import amount from Korea at the end of 1953 was only \$6 million. On the other hand, because of the large demand for foods and reconstruction materials after the war, exports reached \$62 million. This was the peak of Japan's trade with South Korea. However, in late 1954, Rhee's Government decided to switch its purchases from Japan, claiming high prices of Japanese goods. The Republic then delayed the payment of the excess of the "swing" amount and decided to try to cover this with switch trade or exports of mineral and marine products. By this time, the end of 1954, the outstanding account to Japan's credit had reached \$47,450,000.

In an effort to adjust this imbalance, Japan planned to stop all exports to the Republic, except for straight dollar payments and barter trades, and to import under the open account according to the original Trade Agreement. But this plan was not put into effect since Korea refused to buy Japanese goods, although under the US-ROK Economic Aid Treaty (Nov. 1954), the Republic was permitted to use about \$60 million of the total \$700 million FOA (Foreign Operations Administration) fund to import Japanese goods. Furthermore South Korea proposed to export rice to Japan in an attempt to offset the decreasing tungsten exports, but Japan agreed to import about 150,000 tons of rice only



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if applied against the outstanding Japanese credit. This also was not accepted by Korea.

When in 1955 the new Japanese Government expressed its intention of reopening normal trade relations with Soviet Russia and Communist China, Korea's animosity towards Japan further hardened, even to the extent of claiming that Japan intended to attack the Republic from both sides in conjunction with North Korea. In view of this attitude, little could be done to improve relations and they further deteriorated. From then on, the incidence of capture of Japanese fishing boats increased, the Republic switched its trade towards Hong Kong, Formosa, the Philippines etc. and on the other hand strengthened its restrictions on imports from Japan. Finally, on August 18, 1955, Rhee declared the complete rupture of economic relations with Japan and the issuing of licences, customs clearances, and the opening of Letters of Credit through Korean banks to Japan ceased.

These measures were not accepted with equanimity by all Koreans and there was considerable criticism since the level-headed knew that the greater part of Korean exports depended on Japan and that the availability of products, proximity, price, early delivery and early collection of funds, definitely make imports from Japan favourable. By thus arbitrarily forcing trade into unnatural and more expensive channels many felt that a further weakening of the South Korean economy was inevitable, but the Government was not to be convinced and in turn condemned those who desired to trade with Japan.

In contrast to this attitude, Japan proclaimed the desire to reopen trade at any time the Republic seemed ready, and Tokyo has been trying to avoid friction. Later, on October 14th, ROK lifted the ban on trade with Japan somewhat and, perhaps because of US pressure, on January 23, 1956, the delegation in Japan announced that they desired to reopen trade relations.

They decided to permit exports and imports within a framework that would maintain the balance of trade, but still imposed several restrictions on Japanese companies. The matter of the unrecoverable claims from the open account was not considered by them at that time and remained a problem. Hence Japan had some hesitations and doubts in reopening relations, but, nevertheless desired to do so. Trade however remains virtually at a standstill since Korea has nothing to export except marine products (seaweed) which Japan does not want.

It seems to be the present attitude of the Japanese officials that a normal improvement of Japan-ROK trade is very desirable in view of the geographical proximity and the economies of the two countries, but they feel that Korea has been extremely uncooperative, particularly in view of their \$47 million debt to Japan which they continue to ignore, plus their record of arbitrary actions and discrimination against Japan. These factors, in particular the Rhee line, and the damage to Japan's fishery industry are not conducive to harmony.

Consequently the Japanese will certainly take whatever measures they can to insure that the outstanding irrecoverable claims do not increase further and in consequence trade cannot flow normally and continued friction seems almost inevitable. But, again, all hopes for resumption of normal trade depend purely upon the attitude of Syngman Rhee. It is hoped that this attitude has changed, but only events will determine this matter.

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INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL NOTES

KHULNA PROJECT

Soon after partition from India in 1947, Pakistan realised that to stabilise her position as an independent nation she would have to create industries, using what raw materials she possessed, to balance her economy, which was then predominantly agricultural. In 1950, by Act of Parliament, the Pakistan Industrial Development Corporation was created for this purpose. It came into active existence in January 1952. After four years of struggle against what appeared to be overwhelming difficulties, the corporation has successfully established factories producing jute, paper, sugar, textiles, heavy chemicals, fertilisers, and cement.

A newsprint paper industry was envisaged early in the industrialisation programme, and in 1954 definite plans were made to establish a mill near the town of Khulna in East Pakistan. The project has since become known as the Khulna Project, located about seventy miles inland from the northern shores of the Bay of Bengal, about seventy miles west of Calcutta.

The pulp and paper mill, which will produce both newsprint and printing papers, will be based upon the use of Gewa wood from the Sunderbans forest which covers the southern position of the Ganges Delta. In the summer of 1954 samples of Gewa were sent to the United States Forest Products Laboratory in Madison, Wisconsin, to determine the suitability of Gewa wood for newsprint and printing paper manufacture. From results of laboratory scale tests it was concluded that a combination of groundwood and chemigroundwood processes was best suited for the manufacture of newsprint from this species. Further information is based upon mill scale pilot plant tests in an existing paper mill in East Pakistan.

Design capacity of the mill has been

set at 35,000 tons per year, of which 23,000 tons will be newsprint and 12,000 tons will be printing papers. Allowances will be made for doubling this capacity in the future. Allowances will also be made for the future installations of facilities for bleaching the groundwood pulp should this prove necessary.

Groundwood and chemigroundwood pulps will be produced in six twin-pocket hydraulic grinders, which will be driven electrically. Coarse screenings will be done on vibratory screens, fine screenings on rotary screens. Gravity type thickeners will de-water the pulp prior to storage ahead of the paper machines.

Newsprint furnish will consist of approximately 60 percent groundwood, 30 percent purchased chemical pulp. The latter will be received in bales, and will be repulped and refined, before being introduced to the proportioning system supplying the furnish to the paper machines. For the printing papers, the proportion of chemical pulp will be increased and the groundwood decreased in predetermined amounts according to the grade of paper required. For the printings the proportioning will be done in a batch system.

Two paper machines with fourdrinier wire widths of 146 inches will be installed: one for newsprint and one for printings. Two medium pressure steam generators capable of burning either wood, coal or oil will provide steam for all process and power requirements. Electric power will be generated on two single extraction condensing turbo-generators. Water for process and steam will be extracted from the Bhairab River and will be filtered before use.

Consulting engineers for design and construction supervision are Sandwell and Company Ltd. of Vancouver, Canada.

Construction is scheduled to be completed early in 1959. General contractors

for the construction of the buildings and the installation of equipment are Balfour, Beatty-Provincial of Toronto, Canada.

HUNGARIAN INSTRUMENTS FOR INDIA

The Hungarian Trading Company for Instruments, Metrimex, organised earlier this year three exhibitions in India. The exhibits at each of these events, in Bombay, Calcutta and New Delhi, were chosen with an eye to regional requirements. Thus in Bombay the stress was laid on the range of textile testing instruments, while in Calcutta material testing appliances were given prominence. Representative items of all other instrument groups were also on display, such as electrical, electronic, nuclear, geodetic, micro-wave, radio, telephony and laboratory instruments as well as medical testing and therapeutic apparatus.

At these exhibitions in India the Hungarian instruments met with considerable success; Indian experts devoted much attention to the instruments on display, attended with great interest at the lectures delivered by Hungarian scientists and engineers, and expressed their appreciation of the Hungarian exhibits. The Hungarian organisers visited a number of research institutes and factories and formed, on their part, a high opinion of the technical knowledge of Indian specialists who are, in fact, exacting customers.

Miss Padmaja Naidu, Governor of the West Bengal State and Mr. Kannamwar, Minister of Health, Bombay State, when opening the exhibition at Calcutta and Bombay respectively, spoke in terms of praise of the highly developed Hungarian instruments industry and expressed their hope that before long Hungarian instruments in the hands of the Indian experts would promote the industrial development of India.

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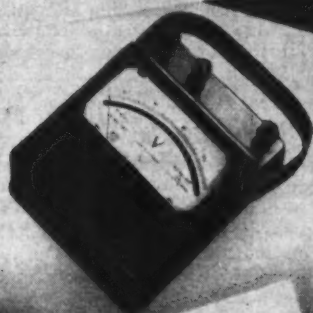
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US DEVELOPMENT LOANS

The United States plans to make eight loans totalling \$39,386,000 for economic development purposes in Ceylon, Formosa, Pakistan, Turkey, and Israel.

Three of the loans totalling \$6,386,000 are for Formosa; two totalling \$2,500,000 are for Ceylon; and one of \$5,500,000 for Pakistan.

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Burmeister & Wain's shipyard at Copenhagen launched last month the cargo motorship "Beira," ordered by The East-Asiatic Company, Copenhagen. The main particulars of M/S Beira are:

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M/S "Beira" is a sistership of M/S

"Bogota," delivered from B & W in September 1956, and the second of the series of freighters, which the Company has ordered, where the propelling machinery is placed aft.

DENMARK'S TRADE WITH ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

Japan is the biggest trading partner of Denmark in Asia and the Far East. During the first 4 months of 1958, imports from Japan reached 47.7 million D.kr. as against 30.1 million D.kr. during the corresponding period of last year. Danish exports to Japan during the same periods show a slight decrease from 6.9 million D.kr. to 6.6 million D.kr.

Denmark's exports to Singapore and Malaya amounted to 14.7 million D.kr. during the first 4 months of 1958 as against 10.5 million D.kr. during the corresponding period of last year. Her imports from Singapore and Malaya fell to 1.3 million D.kr. during the first 4 months of 1958 as against 1.7 million D.kr. during the corresponding period of last year.

Denmark's exports to China were valued at 4.9 million D.kr. during the first 4 months of 1958 as against 1.6 million D.kr. during the corresponding period of last year and her imports from China increased from 1.3 million D.kr. to 1.6 million D.kr. during the same period of last year.

The following table shows the development of Denmark's trade with other main trading partners of that area.

	Imports		Exports	
	1957	1958	1957	1958
	(First 4 months of the year)			
Burma	0.7	1.3	6.1	7.0
India	6.8	7.4	10.2	9.3
Pakistan	2.6	0.8	0.9	2.1
Ceylon	2.7	1.2	0.9	1.0
Thailand	4.9	3.7	5.3	7.3
Indonesia	9.6	0.1	5.4	6.5
Philippines	13.8	2.7	0.7	1.7
Hong Kong	2.7	2.0	10.1	5.8

(All figures in million D.kr.)

CHINA'S NEW CEMENT PLANT

The construction of a cement plant in Kweiyang, capital of China's Kweichow province, began in June. The factory is

expected to go into operation by the end of 1959 with an estimated annual production capacity of over 300,000 tons.

INDIAN COAL OUTPUT

India's output of coal amounted to 43.5 million tons in 1957, representing an increase of 4.1 million tons over the 1956 output.

WORLD BANK LOAN TO KANSAI

The World Bank is lending \$37 million to the Kansai Electric Power Co. of Japan — one of the largest private power companies in the world, now producing 2.8 million kilowatts — to finance a hydroelectric project. The installation is being built on the Kurobe River in

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the Japanese Alps and includes the construction of a dam 610 feet high and an underground power station with three generating units, each of 86,000 kilowatts capacity. Two long tunnels are being built to give access to the site: one 3½ miles long through a mountain range, and another 6 miles along a gorge.

CHINA IMPORTS MORE WOOL TOPS

During the first four months of 1958, UK exports of wool tops to China amounted to 5.3 million lb., valued at £2.2 million.

Australia's exports of wool tops to China increased to 6.6 million lb. during the nine months period of July 1957 to March 1958 as against 3.3 million lb. during the corresponding period of the previous season, while her exports of scoured wool to China increased from 29 million lb. to 4.9 million lb. during the same period.

South African exports of wool tops to China reached 750,000 lb. during the July 1957—March 1958 period as against 360,000 lb. during the corresponding period of last season.

SOUTH KOREAN WOOL YARN PRODUCTION

In 1957, South Korean production of worsted yarn was 3.7 million lb. and that of woollen yarn 0.7 million lb. as against 1.1 million lb. and 0.3 million lb. res-

pectively during 1956. This increase is due to US financial assistance which has aimed at making South Korea less dependent on imports of wool yarn. Despite the higher production of yarn, the output of woollen cloth in 1957 was slightly smaller than during the previous two years and amounted to 4 million yards.

AUSTRALIA'S WOOL EXPORTS

During the first nine months of the new season (July 1957—March 1958) Australia's overall exports of raw wool decreased to 924 million lb. from 960 million lb. which were exported during the corresponding period of the previous season. While the three largest buyers of Australian wool—United Kingdom, France and Japan—took smaller quantities, Italy, the fourth largest consumer, raised her share from 97 million lb. to 113 million lb. (during the same period Italy's imports of raw wool from South Africa increased from 17.7 million lb. to 19.8 million lb.). Australia was also able to increase her exports to Czechoslovakia (from 8 million to 14.2 million lb.) and to Poland (from 25.9 million to 29.9 million lb.).

UK TRADE WITH CHINA

During the first four months of 1958, UK exports to China reached the value of £3,771,988 as against £2.6 million during the corresponding periods of 1956

and 1957. UK imports from China amounted to £4,301,261 during the first 4 months of 1958 as against £3,346,634 and £4,654,860 during the corresponding periods of 1956 and 1957 respectively.

The 1958 UK exports to China included wool tops to the value of £2,194,858 and chemicals valued at £768,966, the latter including chemical elements and compounds (£256,421), drugs, medicines, etc. (£364,629).

Among the 1958 UK imports from China, there were grey unbleached woven cloth fabrics of standard type to the value of £1.6 million as against £0.3 million during the corresponding period of 1957, animal and vegetable crude materials (£0.7 million), animal and vegetable oils and fats (£0.3 million), chemicals (£0.4 million), as well as miscellaneous textile manufactures, raw wool, raw cotton, silk, hides and skins, tea and eggs.

TRADE AGREEMENTS BY ASIAN COUNTRIES IN 1957

A total of 151 trade agreements were concluded by Asian countries during 1957—102 of these being with countries outside the region and 49 within the region. Of Asian trade agreements concluded with countries outside the area, 47 were with the Soviet Union and the eastern European countries and 55 with western Europe, the United States and the rest of the world.

ULTRASONIC EQUIPMENT FOR INDIA

India is shortly to have her first automatic inspection rig for the ultrasonic inspection of turbine discs. The equipment will be supplied by the Ultrasonoscope Company (London) Ltd.

HUNGARIAN CABLES FOR INDIA

Hungary has sold \$2 million worth of electric cables to India. They are being produced at the Budapest Cable Works, the Czepeel Steel Works and the Miskolc Wire factory, and will be delivered early next year, according to a statement by Transelectro.

However, Hungary has also been supplying cable-making machinery to

India. Hungarian wire enamelling machines, operated since 1953 at the Devidayal cable works near Bombay, have been a success, and as a consequence, large orders have been booked with Hungarian factories producing cable-making machinery, particularly by the two cable factories now being installed at Patiala and Bombay. Amongst them are wire drawing and stranding machines built in Diosgyor, a die-grinding machine made at the Anodic Rectifier Works, and an annealing furnace produced by the Hungarian Electrical Engineering and Cable Works. Experts from Technoimpex, the Hungarian trading organisation, are advising with the construction and modernisation of Indian cable plants.

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TENDERS

The Director General, India Store Department, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London, W.3, invites tenders for the supply of:—

Special Cartridge Case Lathes to perform mouth boring and facing to length of 70/30 brass cases of max. length 36in. and max. dia. 6½in., also to perform rolling of threads at mouth as per sketch available.

Tender schedules and specifications may be obtained from the above address at a fee of ten shillings which is not refundable. Cheque should be made payable to "High Commission of India." The application for tender should state reference 2002/58/ENG.3.

Tenders, complete with specifications, to be submitted by MONDAY, 11th AUGUST, 1958.

The Director General, India Store Department, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London, W.3, invites tenders for the supply of:—

Automatic Pickling Unit for pickling and washing of 70/30 brass cartridge cases 6in. diameter x 30in. long, output 85 cases per hour each weighing 16 lbs.

Tender schedules and specifications may be obtained from the above address at a fee of ten shillings which is not refundable. Cheque should be made payable to "High Commission of India. The application for tender forms should state reference 2332/57/OPV/ENG.3.

Tenders complete with specifications to be submitted by MONDAY, 18th AUGUST, 1958.

The office of the Director General, Supplies and Disposals, Shahjahan Road, New Delhi, India, invites tenders for the following:—

"D.G.S. & D. Project No. SE/163-J11.

(a) One 34,100 H.P. Water turbine, Kaplan type with ancillary equipment, *alternatively* fixed blade type.

(b) One 27,000 KVA, 11000V, 50 Cycles Alternator for the above turbine.

(c) Two Alternators as at (b) to suit two turbines as at (a) already on site."

Specifications, drawings etc. relative to the above, can be purchased direct from Director General, India Store Department, Government Buildings, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London W.3., at £15 15s 0d. per copy. Under reference S.3128/58/CDN. Tenders are to be returned direct to the Director General, Supplies and Disposals, Shahjahan Road, New Delhi, India, to reach them by 10 a.m. on 27th AUGUST, 1958.

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The buckets which are of special design have a special discharge ridge fitted to the inside which facilitates the discharge.

★ BUCKET DREDGERS WITH DISCHARGE PUMP—MODEL BP.

A BP is also a bucket dredger, but equipped with a discharge pump. The pump forces the dredged mixture through floating and fixed pipe line to the dumping point.

BP's are eminently suitable for jobs necessitating the dredging of widely divergent types of soil and for spanning great distances of discharge.

This type of dredger has a funnel, a grid and as far as the larger machines are concerned, a fully automatic soil cutter.

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★ SUCTION DREDGERS—MODEL ZP.

A ZP suction dredger can only be economically exploited for the dredging of sand.

Sand which might otherwise not be suitable for being dredged by suction dredger can still be dealt with if a high-pressure force pump is installed. In such cases the dredger also proves less sensitive to sand with some admixture of clay or loam. The soil which is sucked up is also, as in the case of the BP models, passed through the discharge pump and forced through pipe line to the shore. Diesel-mechanical or electric drive.

★ CUTTER-SUCTION DREDGERS—MODEL ZC.

A ZC Cutter suction dredger is essentially the same as the ZP dredger, but in addition it is equipped with a cutter-installation. The shape of these cutters varies greatly. They consist of rotating knives, sometimes fitted with saw-teeth; the so-called "Crown" shape is also used. Soils suitable for this dredger are sand, peat and clay or mixtures. For each kind of soil we can construct the correctly shaped cutter.

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